

## Why, Mrs. Gandhi?

The deepening crisis of democracy in India is a saddening and shocking spectacle. Over 900 political opponents of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi are now in jail. Police are forcefully breaking up protest demonstrations and arresting demonstrators. A news blackout is in effect.

That press censorship should extend even to the dispatches of foreign correspondents is outrageous. Foreign newsmen have been warned that failure to clear their stories could mean expulsion from the country. How can such a measure be justified by a nation that claims to be a democracy and a responsible member of the world community?

Could it be that Indian democracy was never as deeply rooted as once thought? In the years of its independence India has generally impressed the world with the degree of freedom of speech and political activity it has tolerated. But this is the first time there has been a serious political threat to Mrs. Gandhi's leadership and that alone seems to be the excuse for the extreme measures imposed on the country. Yet this is what democracy is supposed to be about — the freedom of

opposition political forces to come to power if that is the majority will.

Hence this is India's first real test of its British-inherited political system and Mrs. Gandhi is drawing back from the challenge. All she seeks apparently is to preserve power at all costs. What she wants to achieve beyond that is not clear.

Curiously, Mrs. Gandhi has not used her state of emergency to any constructive end. Price controls have been imposed but this is little more than a palliative. The Prime Minister has yet to come up with a program of economic and social reforms that would appeal to the populace and take the sting out of the opposition. The central dismal fact of Indian life today is that most Indians are not much better off than they were 28 years ago.

At the moment it is difficult to assess the threat to law and order in India because of the news blackout. But it would appear that Mrs. Gandhi is treading a dangerous course. The longer she persists with her ruthless actions the harder it will be to reverse course — and this could unleash forces beyond her control.

## Hands off Lebanon!

The political crisis in Lebanon, the most serious since the state gained its independence, is taking a high toll. It has caused substantial loss of life and disrupted activity in the Middle East's most important business and commercial center. It is also adding to tensions and turmoil in the region at a time when earnest diplomatic efforts are under way to achieve an overall settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In this situation it would be most helpful if outside powers refrained from intervention in Lebanon's affairs and left the Lebanese free to work out their own factional problems. Unfortunately this is not the case. Libyan leader Muammar al-Qaddafi, a militant and ambitious man who is doing his best to upset a Mideast settlement, is reliably reported to be funneling up to \$1 million a day into Lebanon to support Muslim leftist partisans and keep the pot boiling.

Other Arab leaders responsibly are trying to damp down the dangers. President Sadat of Egypt, King Khalid of Saudi Arabia, and President Assad of Syria all have been involved in benevolent efforts to mediate the dispute. The main leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, moreover, is committed to cooperation with the Lebanese authorities because Lebanon provides the PLO a secure base for the Palestinian guerrillas.

A compromise Cabinet representing various religious and political groups has been announced, although at this writing the fighting has not stopped. If the strife continues, the danger is not ruled out that the Lebanese Army will be used against the extremist Palestinian guerrillas, inviting intervention by both Syria and Israel.

At the root of Lebanon's crisis is the growing sectarian dispute between Christians and Muslims over how power should be

shared. The Muslims, who have a high birthrate, maintain that they and not the Christians are the majority in the country and therefore the time has come to change the present power-sharing formula under which the President of Lebanon is a Christian and other posts are carefully divided up among various religious sects.

The formula now worked out in Beirut is a sensible one. The Cabinet includes six members representing the three most powerful Christian and three most powerful Muslim groups.

## Mr. Richard Nixon testifies

Former President Richard Nixon apparently hopes that his testimony to two grand jury members about Watergate will stand him in good stead with American public opinion. He could have been subpoenaed again but chose instead to appear voluntarily. He even asked his lawyers to make public the fact of his appearance.

This would seem to lay the ground for Mr. Nixon's possible return to public life. There have been reports that he wants to give up his cloistered existence at San Clemente and return to New York, possibly even taking a world tour. With Watergate testimony behind him, such a reemergence into the limelight would be eased.

The fact remains, however, that Mr. Nixon waited to give his testimony until a few days before the Watergate grand jury goes out of existence. If there had been a genuine concern about justice, he could have made an effort to provide his testimony much earlier. Now there is a question as to how useful the testimony will be unless it is considered significant enough to extend the grand jury or create another one. If the interrogation had



The Christian Science Monitor

Step-by-step diplomacy

## Readers write

### Troubled Africa

Editorial comment in the Monitor on the American centennial celebrations as strengthening the call for American support of liberation movements fighting for "representative government" in southern Africa. All right-minded people would support pressure for representative government everywhere, but curiously a blind eye is turned to the independent black African states, where the need is as great as anywhere.

No black state in Africa practices "representative government." In every case there is either military dictatorship or one-party states where candidates are chosen by the ruling echelons. Furthermore, it is to be noted that in no single instance has any African leader been chosen through the ballot box.

Apologists go to extraordinary lengths to overlook or excuse the extreme and deliberate policies of African governments. Even the execution without trial of 38 "opponents" in Ethiopia was reported in the Monitor in the tone of an afternoon's outing. But this is perhaps a minor thing in a continent where, since 1960, literally millions of Africans have been slaughtered by other Africans with scarcely a protest from the world. But the world remembers Sharpeville.

There are indeed anomalies and injustices in South Africa and Rhodesia but these are greater in many black African states, though masked by the belief that black government is synonymous with "representative government."

Ethel Verner Humphrey  
Lydenburg, Transvaal, South Africa

Letters are welcome. Only a selection can be published and none individually acknowledged. All are subject to condensation.

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# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

## Britain gets back on the track again

Political fantasy eroded by economic fact

By Francis Renny  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

London

In spite of some defiant rhetoric from the far left, there are growing signs that the British Labour movement is coming to its economic senses at last. The lengthy process of educating the trade unions in the facts of life seem to be paying off.

If this is indeed true, the cost will have been heavy but worth it. In particular the Wilson government's decision to allow, and even (through higher taxes) encourage inflation to hit the workers directly, has proved penetrating. That sort of education is calculated to prove far more effective than compulsion by state decree.

All of this implies that Mr. Wilson has not simply been vacillating all these months, but biding his time while the message sank in. His critics have always acknowledged that if he has one permanent principle before him, it is preserving the unity of the party. After what happened to the Heath government, he knows he cannot coerce the unions. After what happened to the old "Social Contract" on wage restraint, he knows that the unions are not equipped to enforce a wage policy of their own. But the unions know equally now that there must be such a policy.

By enforcing restraint upon employers rather than employees, Mr. Wilson both avoids a direct confrontation with the unions, and obliges them to toe the line — or face unemployment as their employers either cut jobs or go bankrupt. The result will probably be a kind of moral

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Harold Wilson: the fruits of victory

Moderates triumph in miners' pay quest

By Takashi Oka  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Searborough, England

At close to the 11th hour, a national consensus to fight 25 percent a year inflation and put Britain back on the road to economic health seems to be shaping up.

The mood was palpable among delegates to the mineworkers' annual conference here, who beat down extremist attempts to demand a whopping £100 (\$230) a week wage for coal-face workers.

It underlay the Trade Union Congress leaders' acceptance, after hours of discussions at the Treasury, to hold down pay raise claims in the next annual round of a flat £8 (\$13.80) a week for everyone instead of demanding 30 percent increases as heretofore.

It could be felt in Committee Room 10 of the House of Commons, where Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey told Labour MPs: "There can be a 10 percent cut in our standard of living and a 10 percent cut in our public expenditures — or we would have to crawl to the IMF [the International Monetary Fund] and accept the terms they impose on us."

It is not a heroic mood. The emergency confronting Britain today is quite different from the dark but uplifting days of Dunkirk in World War II. The country is living on borrowed money, and economic selfishness and fear for the future seem to have set group against group and interest against interest.

The rhetoric of the country's leaders seems to have been almost

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## China's new goal: modernization

By zeal or pragmatism, modern nation is sought

By Charlotte Salkowski  
Chief editorial writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Canton, China

China seems placidly in pursuit of internal stability as it waits for the post-Mao era.

On the surface at least, the land is orderly and calm. Revolutionary convulsions have been put behind as the stress turns on increasing production and transforming China into a modern nation.

There are many uncertainties ahead — who will succeed to the leadership of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai, where the burgeoning economy goes from here, whether revolutionary zeal or plain pragmatism will propel the country onward. But the face China turns toward the visitor is one of self-confidence and normalcy. Above all, it is determined to industrialize and, both in order to keep the Russians at bay and to obtain foreign technology, it seeks good relations with the West.

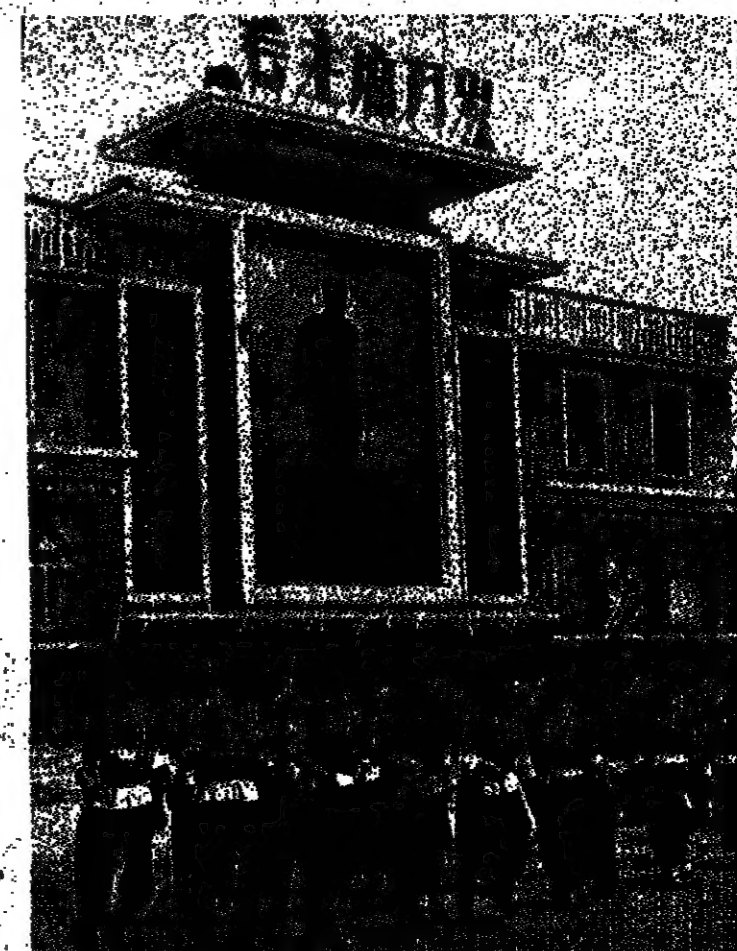
For another eyewitness account of China, see page 6

These are broad impressions gathered after traveling 4,000 miles in the People's Republic of China with a group of 18 American newspaper editors. The visit lasted 24 days and was the second sponsored by the American Society of Newspaper Editors since former President Nixon first visited the land of Peking. Coming as it did in the aftermath of the Vietnam war, it underscored China's desire to keep the momentum of Sino-American relations going.

We were given red-carpet treatment. Traveling with us were seven Chinese interpreter-guides, who arranged every detail of our trip, saw to our comforts and needs, and spared no effort to make our stay useful and enjoyable.

As foreigners, we did not eat, sleep, or travel as would citizens of China, but moved about in isolation fashion. We stayed in the best hotels or guest houses reserved for foreigners, traveled in our own train cars, and ate elaborate meals by ourselves or with our Chinese hosts.

Our hectic schedule included visits to model communes, factories, hospitals, newspaper offices, schools, and a unit of People's Liberation Army. We were the first American journalists to visit Harbin and the Tachung oil field in northeast China, formerly Manchuria. We donned miners' clothes to descend into a coal mine in Fushun. We bumped on a bus for several hours to see a dam in the mountains of Hohai Province. We met with Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping and Foreign Minister



The dragon's tooth: People's militia in Honan Province

Chiao Kuan-hua in Peking and were greeted by the leaders or deputy leaders of provinces and cities.

The quantity and quality of food put before us can only be described as a gourmet's orgy.

Everywhere our reception was cordial. In Peking we first experienced that penetrating black stare of people in the streets who fairly fell off their bikes as they swiveled to look. But in provincial areas crowds often lined the streets, breaking into smiling smiles and clapping as we drove by.

One was always addressed as an "American friend."

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## Dazed Portugal gropes for lifeline

By Geoffrey Godsell  
Overseas news editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Lisbon

The military men in charge in Portugal for the past 18 months are facing what one of them calls a crisis of authority.

By this he meant that their Revolutionary Council still has to come up with an overall and detailed blueprint for a new Portugal and get it effectively carried out. The longer the council delays, the more Portugal's economic and political situation runs down. So the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) talks boldly about resolving the crisis once and for all before the end of July.

As the moment of decision nears, the Revolutionary Council finds itself pulled and pushed from within and without.

Trying to influence it from without are:

- The Moscow-oriented Communist Party (PCP), which — because of its broad lack of support — has been unable to bring down the MFA tightly and refusing to let go.

- The extremists to the left of the PCP — up to half a dozen splinter groups described as Trotskyite, Maoist, Stalinist, etc. — who are defying and challenging the MFA and are prepared to resort to violence. The MFA has arrested the leader of the most active of these groups, the MRPP, and Lisbon is plastered with posters demanding his release.

- The Socialists (PS) who topped the poll (38 percent of the vote) in last April's elections for an assembly to draft a constitution and who are the most effective champions in Portugal today of some form of parliamentary democracy.

Trying to influence the Revolutionary Council from within are:

- A group usually referred to as moderates — including Foreign Minister Melo Antunes and former Governor of Mozambique Admiral

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## Britain's economic problem

Britain's economic problem has been running over 10 percent unemployment, less than 4 percent compared with U.S. inflation of only 5 percent and joblessness over 9 percent.

The Labour Party government's economic spokesman, Denis Healey, is on target with his warning that wage increases must voluntarily be limited to 10 percent, or the government must impose mandatory wage and price controls.

The mere announcement of the government's wage cap demand brought welcome relief for the beleaguered pound. But the Labour Party government will have to prove it means what it says in its pledge to cut Britain's inflation rate to 10 percent by the end of next summer.

One test will come in how much time the government gives representatives of labor and management to work out a voluntary pact. Assuming an agreement is quickly reached, will the Labour government ensure it is rigidly enforced at the local contract level? If the voluntary route fails, will Prime Minister Wilson have sufficient party backing to pass statutory controls in Parliament?

Mr. Healey suggested that the 10 percent wage pact could be enforced by permitting public and private employers to increase total payrolls by only 10 percent; thus either salaries must be held down or workers laid off.

Clearly, something decisive must be done to halt Britain's self-feeding inflation. The government's proposal merits all possible support from the British people.







# Soviet Union

## Soviets say CIA skullduggery signals end of U.S. democracy

By Paul Wohl  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Recently disclosed controversial activities of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) are seen in the Soviet press as further proof that democracy in America is crime-ridden and doomed.

"The Rockefeller report on the CIA has disproved official propaganda claims about the stability of United States democracy," said a June 11 Soviet news agency dispatch from New York, saying in effect to readers back home: "We told you so."

Many Soviet citizens seem to have taken the disclosures on the CIA as confirmation of Moscow's warnings against contact with visiting capitalists — especially those from the U.S. But this is only one side of the picture.

According to a recently returned Russian-speaking traveler, the more apathetic older generation has come to the conclusion that secret police and government control of citizens is a fact of life in both East and West and simply has to be put up with. Younger Soviets, on the other hand, are said to appreciate that public opinion in the U.S. has forced the authorities to bring many hitherto hidden activities of the CIA into the open, whereas in the Soviet Union hardly anything is made known about the more sensitive activities of the Soviet security police, or KGB.

Party and government seek to portray the role of the KGB as patriotic and worthy of high praise. Many of its functions, like the border guards, are widely approved. Encouragement of the citizens to report strangers in frontier areas is considered normal.

Surveillance of mail and telephone conversations is taken for granted. This may explain why Soviet coverage of CIA activities of this kind is cursory.

Soviet audiences are said to have been

incensed, however, by the disclosure that assassination of foreign leaders was considered by the CIA. Such assassinations always have been rejected by the Soviets — not on the ground that they were immoral but because Marxists do not see politics in terms of individuals. Communist textbooks contend that individual leaders are exponents of social trends that continue whether or not a leader is removed.

Only two cases are known of political murder of foreign statesmen perpetrated or planned by the KGB. One was that of Czechoslovakian Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk, who was suspected of intending to flee to the West. The other was a plan to do away with Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito, when his conflict with Stalin was at its height.

These were special cases, however, because Masaryk was considered a traitor to the cause — and Marshal Tito even more so.

Lenin's behest not to spill blood inside the Communist Party was observed only for a few years. The mass killings of nonparty people perpetrated by Lenin's Cheka, and later of party and nonparty persons alike by Stalin's GPU, forerunners of the KGB, have no precedent in modern history.

When it comes to getting rid of anti-Communists among Soviets abroad or of agents who "sought freedom," the secret police never were squeamish. Assassinations and kidnappings of this sort perpetrated by Soviet agents abroad are too numerous to enumerate. The most widely known case was the assassination of Leon Trotsky in Mexico.

However, Soviet secret agents consistently refused to have anything to do with attempts on Hitler and Mussolini proposed to them by German and Italian anti-fascists. The reason for their rejection of such plots always was that Marxists spurn individual terror as a political weapon.

## Bolshoi Theater rings to Wagner

Despite cultural and political opposition to German composer audiences are responsive

By Dev Murarka  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

The Swedish Royal Opera Company has made cultural history in Moscow by performing Richard Wagner's "The Ring of the Nibelung" in its entirety at the prestigious Bolshoi Theater.

This is the first performance of "The Ring" in Moscow, for that matter in all of the Soviet Union, in its entirety since 1889. Though one or two individual parts of "The Ring" have been performed here, music lovers had no opportunity to see any of it for a long time. Indeed, they say the last time "Siegfried" was performed here was in 1940, the year after the conclusion of the Nazi-Soviet pact. So the staging of "The Ring" is a landmark in Soviet musical history.

At least the music, which has been the only part of Wagner's work to survive the Soviet purges of the arts, has been performed with some enthusiasm, the extent of which has not yet faded.

The prejudices against Wagner are still strong in official circles, and some have questioned the Swedes about selecting "The Ring" for the Moscow performances. The Swedish reply is that it was done at the instance of the late Ekaterina Pertseva, who until her passing some months ago was Minister of Culture. This also would appear to be a delicate way of opening up Wagner for the Soviet public — since the first company to perform it is a non-German one.

The prejudice against Wagner grew strongly during World War II because of the use Hitler made of Wagner's music.

The great Soviet Encyclopedia of 1961, a prominent example of Stalinist thinking, while acknowledging Wagner's musical ge-

nius, denounced that side of his art that it found "reactionary" and with "anti-people" tendencies. The new edition of the encyclopedia contains no such qualifications.

It is not only political prejudices, however, that have prevented official approval for Wagner so far. There is a long tradition of opposition to Wagner, in common with Europe, among Russian composers and writers.

Peter Tchaikovsky, Russia's national composer, for instance, wrote in 1876: "With the last chords of 'The Twilight of the Gods,' I had a feeling of liberation from captivity. It may be that the Nibelung's ring is a very great work, but there never has been anything more tedious and more dragged out than this rigmorale. . . . In the past, music was supposed to delight people, and now we are tormented and exhausted by it."

Another outstanding Russian composer of the period, Rimsky-Korsakov, wrote in 1901: "I have been reading the score of 'Siegfried.' As always, after a long interval, Wagner's music repelled me. I am outraged by his various aural aberrations, which surpass the limit of the harmonically feasible. Cacophony and nonsense are scattered in 'Siegfried' all over the score."

Above all, Leo Tolstoy, the author of "War and Peace," denounced Wagner's music because, "In accordance with his theory, he writes his own music, in connection with a still false system of uniting all the arts."

In view of this tradition and the subsequent political prejudices, the artists of the Swedish Royal Opera have found the audience surprisingly responsive and the more musical of them well familiar with the works of Wagner.

Now that the taboo against Wagner has been breached, the musical public is ardently hoping that more performances of "The Ring" will be allowed in the near future.



Brezhnev chums it up with Brandt during a visit to Bonn in 1973

## Brandt in huddle with Brezhnev

Ex-Chancellor makes surprising visit to Russia after he resigned over East German spy scandal

By Dev Murarka  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

In a most unusual and precedent-breaking move, Soviet Communist Party leader Leonid Brezhnev has been playing host in Moscow to former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt.

Mr. Brandt, who stepped down as Chancellor last year after the arrest of one of his aides as an East German spy, is still chairman of the West German Social Democratic Party. However his visit is strictly speaking a personal one, although it has become surrounded by a lot of diplomatic trappings.

Mr. Brandt went to the airport personally to receive the former Chancellor. Also, Mr. Brandt was invited in the name of General Secretary Brezhnev.

The unusual Soviet gesture is deeply political at a personal level, but more importantly at a national level. Mr. Brezhnev feels that Mr. Brandt has proved to be the key to successful détente not only in Europe but also between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Without the agreement on the status of the two Germanys, which Mr. Brandt signed as Chancellor in 1970 during a visit to Moscow — nominally a treaty on renunciation of the use of force — there might have been no Nixon-Brezhnev meetings which paved the way to increased U.S.-Soviet détente.

Observers see the Brezhnev move as a personal gesture to Mr. Brandt to underscore the rapport established with him and also to indicate that Moscow still prefers the Brandt

type of politics in German and European foreign affairs. But it also is viewed as a personal gesture of apology for the spy episode which brought down Mr. Brandt as chancellor. The trial of the spy, Gerd Gieselmann, currently is under way in West Germany.

The Soviets maintain that they had no hand in the spy affair, and they were furious with the East Germans at the time. But beyond the personal gesture, the Soviets are concerned about a sense of bitterness which has begun to affect détente in Europe, despite stable progress toward a successful conclusion of the European security conference.

Simultaneously, Moscow officials feel that Soviet-West German relations are not developing as they should, and they want to end Mr. Brandt's aid to this.

Mr. Brandt indicated here, after a 45-minute talk with Mr. Brezhnev, that when West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Mr. Brezhnev meet at the expected European summit meeting in Helsinki winding up the security conference, misunderstandings on both sides, particularly about the status of West Berlin, will be clarified. Lately there has been a growing dispute between East and West Germany on West Berlin, despite the four-power agreement on the divided city.

Another important aspect of the Brandt-Brezhnev talks is Soviet interest in promoting Communist-Social Democratic cooperation in Europe. Because of the enormous prestige which the German Social Democrats enjoy, such cooperation would gain if the Germans backed it although the Communists do not present a serious problem in West Germany.

## 'Stalinist' purge of Ukraine

By Paul Wohl  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

The purge against nationalism and intellectuals that has been sweeping the Soviet Ukraine since 1972 appears to have come to a climax. According to extracts of an underground Ukrainian periodical that have reached the West, the purge is comparable to Stalin's purge of the 1930s.

Unlike the Stalin purge, however, the current one reportedly is being conducted "in an atmosphere of strict secrecy under the guise of transfers and retirements of officials." The Stalin purge was aimed at "anti-party activities."

The Ukrainian nationalism issue at one time reached all the way to the Politburo, where former Party First Secretary Peter Y. Shelest was said to favor it. Mr. Shelest was removed from the Politburo on the eve of former President Nixon's visit to Moscow in 1972. His ouster was explained as being in line with the policy of peaceful coexistence, since Mr. Shelest had built up the reputation of a hard-liner.

After his removal from office, the clampdown on the Ukraine began. Five provincial first secretaries were ousted in a matter of months. In all provinces, cities, and districts the secretaries in charge of ideology were removed.

However, the main victims of the purge are the intellectuals.

Last March a widely known lecturer at the University of Odessa was fired for "nationalism" and the director of the National Opera and Ballet Theater was replaced with a Russian. Five professors at Dnepropetrovsk University also got the ax. And in April the first secretary of the important Sumy Prov-

ince was ousted. The Ukrainian capital, Kiev, lost its autonomy and was placed directly under the Ukrainian Central Committee.

The Kremlin also has accused Ukrainian "nationalists" of "Maoist" orientation. In addition to the Western radio broadcasts that reach the Ukraine, Peking's powerful transmitters send anti-Soviet and anti-Russian broadcasts which are heard by many of the tens of thousands of Ukrainians living in Kazakhstan and other Asian territories.

While there has been evidence of a backlash — First Provincial Secretary V. F. Dobrykh was reported to have been beaten and shot — it would be a mistake to assume that the Ukrainian masses are in a militantly anti-Soviet mood.

The people of the central and eastern Ukraine remain quiet. Last July Soviet General Secretary Leonid I. Brezhnev rode unmolested in an open automobile through the streets of Kiev to "thunderous" applause. And, while Moscow clearly seeks to spread the use of the Russian language, it also has bestowed on the Ukraine more modern industry than is to be found in neighboring Russian provinces.

The Ukraine, with rich mineral resources, a grain crop that accounts for about one-fifth of the Soviet total, a sugar production that is about half of the Soviet total, and its strategic location between Central Europe and Russia on the one side and the Black Sea on the other, is too important for the Kremlin to rely only on repressive measures.

Last November a leading Ukrainian dissident, Ivan M. Dzuba, who the year before had been sentenced to five years in jail and five years in exile, was prevailed upon to repent.

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**BE A MONITOR AD-WATCHER**

# Soviet Union

## Dissident Soviet sculptor refused permission to emigrate

By Dev Murarka  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow — The Soviet authorities' refusal to grant well-known sculptor Ernst Neizvestny permission to emigrate came as a surprise to Western observers here. For it coincided with preparations to wind up the 35-nation European security conference with a summit meeting and a final declaration recommending, among other things, freer movement of people between East and West.

The ground given for turning down Mr. Neizvestny's application for an exit visa was that he had not divorced his wife, who plans to remain in the Soviet Union.

He cannot appeal this decision for a year. But, the deputy director of OVIR, the Soviet visa authority, has told him that if he divorces his wife his case will be reconsidered.

At a press conference July 7, the sculptor explained that he had permission from his wife Dina and daughter to emigrate. But his wife did not want a divorce because she belongs to the Russian Orthodox Church and does not believe in divorce. It was not clear from the artist's remarks whether the couple would now divorce at the behest of the state, but Mr. Neizvestny said that his wife wanted the world to know that they were being forced to divorce.

Standing amid a disorderly collection of his sculptures in the basement of a dilapidated building, where he has moved following his expulsion from the Artists Union because of his emigration application, the artist in-



Khrushchev: he respected Neizvestny dignantly proclaimed that he is being kept here "like a serf."

He said that for 20 years he has been denied creative freedom and freedom to visit places he wanted to see. He declared that compelling him to divorce to leave was "insolent" on the part of the authorities.

Contrary to what his last name implies in Russian — unknown — the stocky, energetic sculptor is an international figure, one of the most interesting, creative and controversial individuals to emerge in the post-Stalin years. All during his artistic life, he has been at odds with the authorities because his work conflicts with the aesthetic doctrines of the party and the government.

He had a verbal clash with former Soviet Communist Party chief Nikita Khrushchev at an art exhibition nearly 20 years ago, but in the end won Mr. Khrushchev's grudging respect, and was commissioned to make a bust for Mr. Khrushchev's grave at the Soviet leader's own request.

Today, when bureaucratic academism has either dulled official Soviet art or driven many artists to various forms of dissidence, the angry dialogue between Messrs. Khrushchev and Neizvestny is worth recalling.

Khrushchev: What do you think of the art produced under Stalin?

Neizvestny: I think it was rotten and the same kind of artists are still deceiving you.

Khrushchev: The methods Stalin used were wrong, but the art itself was not.

Neizvestny: I do not know how, as Marxists, we can think like that. The methods Stalin used served the cult of personality and this became the content of the art he allowed. Therefore the art was rotten, too.

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# Asia

## How U.S. benefits from China's Moscow-phobia

Mrs. Salkowski, the Monitor's chief editorial writer, has just completed a 24-day tour of China with a delegation of American newspaper editors.

By Charlotte Salkowski  
Chief editorial writer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Harbin, China  
It is a bit disconcerting to visit the People's Republic of China and find yourself eating "chicken Kiev." But there it was amid the rice, sweet and sour pork, and other Chinese dishes — a plateful of golden-brown pressed chicken, oozing butter and trussed up with pretty paper legs.

The culinary accents are not the only things Russian in this city of northeast China, formerly known as Manchuria. For decades the Soviets were busy expanding their presence and influence here, and today Harbin is a town of yellow stucco buildings and villas so characteristic of Russian cities. At the central hotel one sleeps under blankets slipped into white linen covers Russian style, and across the street towers a granite monument to Soviet heroes who perished in World War II.

But chicken Kiev seems the last concession to the "neighbor to the north." Right next to that soaring Soviet monument stands a ramshackle structure underneath which scores of laborers are at work on an air-raid shelter, one of many built throughout China in the event of a war with the Soviet Union.

If any one foreign-policy theme dominated a 24-day visit to China by a delegation of American journalists, it was the alleged perfidy of the Russians and the need of China to remain vigilant against Soviet "social

imperialism" abroad and Soviet-style "revisionism" at home.

Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping told us that China does not fear an attack by the Soviet Union but that the United States should beware of Soviet expansionism; he said America now is on the defensive. Other Chinese officials similarly warned that the Soviets are creating a "feint" in the East in order to lull and attack the West.

There is a strong note of national pride in the current anti-Sovietism. Shanghai's suave deputy leader Feng Kuo-chu put down an alleged remark by the late Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev that all the Chinese had was vegetable soup. He commented scornfully: "I have met with many friends who have gone to that country, and they tell us supplies are quite empty in their shops."

Evidences of past Soviet influence and aid are everywhere. One flies in Antonov and Ilyushin planes and occasionally spots MIGs at an airport. Soviet-built trucks rumble down the roads and Moscow-style hotels and office buildings rise in towns and cities. Russian ballet and folk steps have crept into contemporary Chinese dances.

But today the Soviets are publicly blamed for virtually every and any failure, whether of a piece of machinery or a policy — sometimes too conveniently, perhaps. At the Taching oil field, a four-hour train ride from Harbin toward the Sino-Soviet frontier, officials related how "Soviet revisionists" after 1960 stopped supplying oil to "strangle" China, how they tore up contracts, withdrew their technicians, and refused to supply promised machinery.

At a safety-equipment plant in the coal-

mining town of Fushun a young worker pointed to a gas indicator supplied by the Soviets and scoffed: "We adopted a policy of trailing behind at a snail's pace and adopted slavish ways. The Russians had better units but they gave us a worse one. Later our workers were indignant and made their own product — a better one."

The quarrel with Moscow has many facets. But seen from inside China the intense anti-Soviet propaganda seems to have a twofold goal: First, to help keep China united, independent, and self-reliant. Second, to make sure it does not become "infected" with Soviet "bourgeois" socialism that permits widening disparities in income, emergence of an elite intelligentsia set apart from the working classes, and a strong dose of material incentives and private enterprise.

Having adopted Lenin and other Western ideologies, and blended them with their own brand of Maoism, the Chinese seem determined to keep the purity of the communist faith. "Our task is to keep on the right road and not to develop China into a bourgeois country that bullies others," one fervent Communist said.

Such attitudes have filtered down to the lowest functionaries. At our first-class hotel in Peking I observed a foreigner trying to exchange 100 rubles for Chinese currency. The young clerk looked at him coldly and, after checking with a colleague, waved him off with an air of self-satisfied disdain.

Even as the Soviets are maligned, so are

Americans now accorded a place of "friendship." News of the arrival of our delegation in Harbin had been reported in the local media, and the crowds in the streets smiled, clapped, and waved wherever we went. We were greeted similarly in farm villages and towns, where even the tiniest children were encouraged by mothers to clap.

The blossoming relationship with America certainly has no ideological raison d'être. The People's Republic views its accommodation with the United States as a counterweight to the Soviet Union. A weak country, it knows that only the U.S. can thwart Soviet ambitions and maintain stability in Asia. Hence it is not surprising that the Americans are urged to keep their military presence in Asia strong, and their ties with Japan firm, not that Peking has put the Taiwan question temporarily on the back burner in order to encourage a visit by President Ford.

As it seeks to industrialize, moreover, China needs Western technology and equipment. But it does not want the West's ideas or culture. In one Chinese put it, "We'll take from you what is good for China and can help China."

Thus, in Chinese eyes, the U.S. is still an imperialist power in the world but it is not at the moment the "main contradiction." One high Chinese official told us: "Our ideologies are different. You approve your own social system and world outlook while we support Marxism-Leninism. This should not prevent us from seeking common grounds against those seeking hegemony."

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# Africa

## Banned Afrikaans writers talk of going underground

By Humphrey Tyler  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Cape Town  
Some of the best young writers in Afrikaans in South Africa are talking of "going underground like the Russians" after the banning within a few months of a modern Afrikaans novel, a book of poems, and an unpublished play.

Afrikaans writers previously had been almost completely untouched by censorship here. Thousands of books in English — many of them unabashedly pornographic — have been banned over the years. But it was not until the end of last year that the censors banned a book in Afrikaans (a language developed from old Dutch).

It became an immediate literary sensa-

tion. The book called "Kennis van die Aand" (Knowledge of Dusk) was by a young Afrikaans lecturer, Dr. Andre Brink, a prolific writer and pamphleteer. In it he trod dangerous sociological ground for South Africa. It was a story of love across the color line, something that is banned in real life.

The author and the publisher contested the banning order in the Supreme Court, but the order was upheld by a bench of three judges, who found the book obscene and objectionable.

Up till this year the censors' score in the courts had not been good overall. Time after time the courts set aside banning orders, particularly on magazines dealing with current affairs. But this year the censorship laws were changed to make them "more effective."

The most important change, and the one

that has caused despondency among writers generally, is that banned authors or publishers may no longer appeal to the courts for release of their publications. Instead, they may go only to a special appeal court set up within the censorship machinery itself.

Also, instead of a relatively limited number of censors, empowered to act only when the public complains about specific publications, a whole series of censorship boards has been set up. There now are 191 individual censors scattered throughout the country.

What is more, the censors are not restricted to acting only after they have received complaints about a particular publication. They are specifically empowered to track down bannable publications themselves.

The censorship law says that any publication must be banned if it "is indecent or improper or objectionable or offensive to public morals, if it is blasphemous or offensive to the religious beliefs or feelings of any population group in South Africa, or if it ridicules or is contemptuous of any population group, or if it is damaging to

relations between any of the population groups in South Africa."

Two other bans have been imposed since the banning of Dr. Brink's book.

The first is on a book of poetry, illustrated by the author, Breyten Breytenbach, an Afrikaans writer who lives in voluntary exile in Paris. He is denounced by the Afrikaans establishment as a disruptive literary influence — although not even his harshest critics deny his talent — and also because he married across the color bar. His wife is a South Vietnamese. The couple cannot live in South Africa because of the mixed-marriages law.

The poet's book has actually been out of print for three years. Why should someone go out of his way to ban it now? Is the question being asked.

The second banning concerns a play called "Die Sellsie storie" (The Same Old Story) by another young writer, Pieter Kerk Uys. It is a lively play but not offensive by contemporary standards. It was actually passed for production by the old censor board. But the author has received a telegram from the new censorship board informing him that any publication of the play as a book is banned.

## Korean opposition leader calls freedom best defense

By Daniel Southerland  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Seoul  
The Communist take-over of South Vietnam caused South Korea's political opposition, in the interest of national unity, to mute its criticism of President Park Chung Hee's authoritarian government. But Kim Young Sam, leader of the main opposition political party, says that his party remains steadfast in its demand for more political freedom and will not stay permanently quiet.

"The collapse of Indo-China greatly shocked people in Korea, and President Park has used this to his advantage," said Mr. Kim in an interview at the headquarters of his New Democratic Party in Seoul.

"The collapse of Indo-China made people here conscious of a good deal of danger to our national security," he said. "As a result, we have engaged in less criticism, but we remain unchanged on our aim of obtaining the restoration of democracy . . . and more freedom."

Speaking of the immediate future, Mr. Kim said, "I want to remain silent for a certain period until this typhoon of feeling over the

collapse of Indo-China has passed. I think that in Korea a Communist regime exists in the North, there is a possibility of invasion by the North Koreans," the political party leader said.

But he added, "I firmly believe the Soviet Union and China will not support the North Koreans in attacking the South."

"We have 600,000 Korean troops and the presence of 23,000 American troops in the South, and 35 million people who are strongly armed with anticommunism," Mr. Kim said. "With all these things put together, we are confident that we can defend ourselves."

But unlike President Park, who argues that more political freedom would only make for instability and benefit the North, Mr. Kim contends that it would help the South Koreans defend themselves in a more effective way.



Kim Young Sam

"The government should stop oppressing the people and should let them support the government voluntarily, with their own minds and hearts, and should let the people devote their lives to the cause of the nation of their own will."

Mr. Kim pointed to the example of South Vietnam. He said that while there were obviously great differences between South Korea and South Vietnam, it was lack of support from the people of South Vietnam that was decisive in bringing down the Thieu government.

"What made the Saigon government fall, I think, is that President Thieu was in power too long, oppressed religious groups, and had a government that was too corrupt," said Mr. Kim. "All these things resulted in the absence of overwhelming support from the Vietnamese people."

"Another thing is that, unlike the Korean people, the Vietnamese people were not armed with strong anticommunism," he said.

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# Middle East

## Talking to Sadat in his summer villa

By Charles W. Yost  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Alexandria, Egypt  
It is clear from a conversation with President Sadat of Egypt that he is relying almost entirely on the United States to bring about first an easing and later a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

To a lesser extent, he relies on Washington to help relieve Egypt's almost intolerable economic burdens.

If the United States should be unable or unwilling to meet these expectations, it is hard to see how President Sadat, given the political climate in Egypt and in the Arab world, could long continue his moderate conciliatory course.

President Sadat, and his new Vice-President, Husni Mubarak, received me at the President's summer villa at Borg el Arab, west of Alexandria.

Since the October, 1973, war, the Arabs have regained confidence in themselves and the rest of the world has gained respect for them, Mr. Sadat said. The Egyptian leader's demeanor reflected his own growth in poise, assurance, and urbanity since I saw him three years ago.

He was, no doubt wisely, reserved about predicting the outcome of current negotiations, though adding that he is always hopeful.

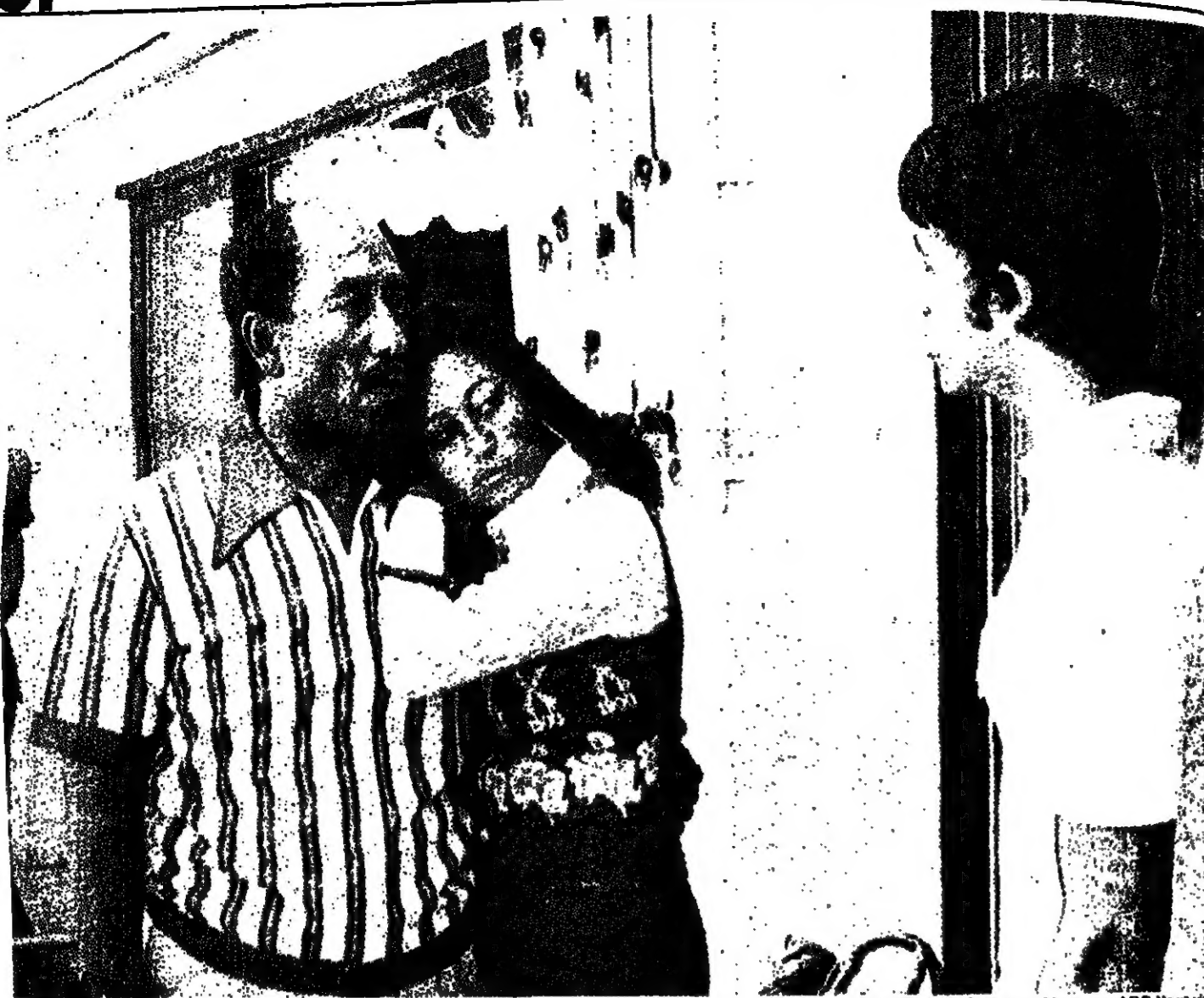
It was a pity, President Sadat remarked, that the momentum toward accommodation, which had at last taken off after the October war, had been interrupted by Yom Kippur.

Otherwise, he believed, there would have been another disengagement last autumn. Nevertheless, he had made what he considered a far-reaching offer which Israel had unfortunately rejected. Now he is trying again.

He said that he had been much impressed by the straightforwardness and honesty of President Ford during their meeting at Salzburg.

Mr. Sadat acknowledged that a complication at the Geneva peace conference when it resumes will be representation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.). The Arabs had not yet agreed just how it is to be managed, he said. But a way will be found, he asserted. If the United States could establish contact with the P.L.O., it would reinforce moderate elements among them and help to bring them constructively into the negotiation.

I pointed out that the heart of the problem



President Sadat puts a fatherly arm around his daughter, Nana, as he chats with his son Gamal

Copyright by Robert Azzi, Magnum/ABC News via UPI

for the Israelis is that they be convinced that their security is firmly and durably assured. President Sadat replied that he had for four years offered to make a peace agreement with Israel and that other Arabs now also are prepared to do so. Guarantees are up to the great powers, though the Arabs, who started only the last of the four wars, have more need of guarantees than does Israel, he added.

Asked about Egypt's economic situation, President Sadat replied that the most pressing problem is the burden of short-term debt which is absorbing most of the country's foreign exchange. This must be converted into long-term loans for which he needs one-half billion Egyptian pounds, half from the Arab oil states and half from the United States and Europe.

The reopened canal is beginning to generate revenue. Oil exports are expected from the Suez wells. Intensive exploration is under way in the Western Desert and he is very hopeful of further substantial discoveries there.

President Sadat of Egypt says he is certain

that President Ford and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger see the grave danger of allowing another stalemate to develop in the Middle East.

Both of them, he added in a conversation here, strongly desire another Sinai disengagement along the lines that have been discussed.

One of the frequent visitors to his cool summer villa at Borg el Arab is U.S. Ambassador Herman Eells.

Given the American interest, President Sadat said, he was at a loss to understand the present deadlock.

Israel, he pointed out, is wholly dependent on the United States, militarily and economically. How then could it be allowed to block an agreement that the American President and Secretary of State believe to be in the American interest and in the interest of peace in the area?

He understood the U.S.-Israel relationship. He believed, however, that the United States must bring its great influence more effectively to bear on Israel if there were to be any real movement toward a settlement.

President Sadat feared that Israel, in its mistaken belief that time works in its favor, merely trying to gain time until the 1977 presidential-election campaign begins. Calculated leaks about the course of the negotiation are part of the game.

As a matter of fact he has offered, in exchange for a meaningful Israeli withdrawal in Sinai, to accept two annual extensions of the United Nations force there. Whether or not this withdrawal takes place, he says, there must be a resumption of the Geneva conference very shortly.

If it does take place, however, the atmosphere will be greatly improved. The conference will have two years in which to accomplish its difficult task.

Mr. Yost was a member of the U.S. foreign service for 40 years and served, among other posts, as ambassador to Syria, to Morocco, and at the United Nations.

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From page 1

## ★ China seeks new nation

I asked one dedicated Communist what was meant by "friend." She explained that this was anyone who wanted to "understand China and had good will for it." While one was buoyed by the appellation, it was sobering to think that the mass public approbation of Americans could perhaps be abruptly shifted overnight if the government in Peking decided America was no longer "a friendly country."

Our broad itinerary, including the visit to Taching, was largely at our own request. But our hosts made the specific selections, and our experience was therefore a highly controlled one. Commune villages and factories were swept clean before our arrival.

There was virtually no chance for a spontaneous conversation. The language barrier alone was prohibitive. But even when occasion arose to chat with someone it was only moments before a crowd gathered, ruling out any "private" conversation.

All visits were highly structured and took on a ritualistic pattern. After the head of our delegation was greeted by local officials, we would be ushered into a waiting room furnished with pots of tea, and given a briefing.

Such briefings had a predictable pattern. The official would recite a few statistics about the progress made since China's "liberalization," or since the Cultural Revolution, credit the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, and wind up with a modest comment about the "shortcomings" that still needed to be overcome.

This is not to suggest that officials did not speak frankly and sincerely or that one did not come away with some valid observations. I think we did. But the fact remains that one could not get below the orchestrated surface. We could not even obtain regional newspapers, which, we were told, were "for the local people."

Among the kaleidoscope of impressions formed after this extraordinary journey, the inescapable dominant one is that China has wrenched itself free of the destitution and humiliation of the past. The back of feudalism has been broken and a unified nation is lifting itself out of backwardness with self-assurance and purposefulness.

The vast majority of China's some 900 million people still lives at the level of austere poverty, and the country has a long way to go to become modern by Western standards. But, as so many travelers report, the people are well fed, and adequately, if drably, clad.

Most significantly for China's future, the peasants and workers — those on the lowest scale of degradation in old China — exude dignity and poise. They are motivated, conscious of their gains, and, as far as one could tell, contented.

Balancing this positive picture for the Westerner is the appalling restriction of a thoroughly controlled society in which the individual must subordinate his aspirations and desires to those of the collective. There is no doubt that Chairman Mao's leadership and teachings have united and galvanized the Chinese into action and altered many feudal habits and ideas. That has greatly benefited the country.

But the Maoist ideology, which permeates every facet of life from cradle on, also is stifling creative thinking. It has evolved an almost unbearable monotony and dullness of culture, from dress to dance. It also has isolated the Chinese people from that kind of free association with outsiders that makes for true understanding and friendship.

Among the questions difficult to answer is the extent to which the Chinese are "indoctrinated" and to what extent they conform because nonconformity brings social disapprobation and closes the route to advancement. Or what is done with real dissenters. Surprisingly, I never felt that heavy sense of physical control that is so marked in the Soviet Union. The Chinese effort to "re-educate" the resistant individual through group discussion seems to work.

I was struck, too, by the pragmatism of the Chinese. To be sure, they are hooked on Mao Tse-tung Thought. But, although they whip out the "Instructions" of Chairman Mao at least provocatively, I sometimes had the feeling they are doing what is practical and workable in Chinese conditions and then cast their actions in the vestments of ideological jargon.

From page 1

## ★ Britain: economic fact

compulsion which will save the unions' faces by enabling them to plead force majeure. After all, the unions have always put the preservation of jobs as their top priority. And there will be various sops to socialist orthodoxy like apparent undertakings not to cut social spending schemes (which already have been cut, or will be slowed down or diluted).

But besides the slow erosion of political fantasy by economic fact, something else has occurred to sober the Labour movement. This was the recent by-election in the near-London constituency of Woolwich West, taken from Labour by the Conservative candidate. The Tory, who had lost by an 8 percent margin in October, now led by one of 7 percent; a swing which, if transferred to a General Election throughout the country would give the Tories a huge lead in the Commons.

The Woolwich result seems to have been partly the result of vigorous personal campaigning by the new Tory chief, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher (who risked, but enhanced, her reputation thereby), partly the result of widespread anger over inflation, and partly the result of mass defections from the Liberal party, which is down in its usual dumps once more.

None of this is good news for Mr. Wilson on the face of it. Labour how has an absolute majority of zero over all other parties, and has to depend upon the goodwill of assorted nationalists and independents for its survival in office.

At first sight this might seem a good moment for Mrs. Thatcher to start maneuvering to overthrow the government. There are several reasons why she does not, and why Mr. Wilson need not be too downcast after all. There is something of a policy struggle going on among the Tories over how dogmatically Free Enterprise their party should be. Tories are not yet convinced that the country wants yet another election so soon: three within two years might cause political indigestion. And by-election results notoriously inflame the unpopularity of the government.

Finally, many Tories feel that Labour should be allowed enough rope to hang itself. Given reasonable bad luck, it might hang itself for a long time to come.

Mr. Wilson, consummate politician that he is, knows all this perfectly well and must have pointed it out to his followers. The economic situation and Woolwich have provided him with a not-unwelcome pair of whips with which to beat all but the most fanatical socialists back into their kennels. The left-wing Tribune group may go snarling and with their tails between their legs, and a few may even bite the hand that whips them.

But the fact is, their patrons in the cabinet (Mr. Foot, Mr. Benn, Mrs. Castle) have given them no lead. Few Tribunes really want to incur the odium of bringing down their government. Nor, in their heart of hearts, do the unions. To outsiders the achievement may look fairly shabby, but to observers inside British politics it is beginning to look as if Wilson has triumphed again.

From page 1

## ★ British miners' pay

played out. Prime Minister Harold Wilson did not get more than polite applause Monday when he told the miners that he was asking, "not a year for self, but a year for Britain." No more did militant leftists, like Yorkshire miners' leader Arthur Scargill, who shouted out to his fellow delegates, "No one can tell me that a miner isn't worth a week in 1975."

Yet at last, this week, long-awaited national decisions are being hammered out, not in the atmosphere of confrontation and social strife that many had feared, but in a sober toning down of pay claims and a realization by management and trade unionists alike that there have to be sacrifices and that these sacrifices must be seen to be fair.

It is almost certain that the government will ask for some kind of statutory authority to make sure wages will not exceed the 10 percent increase the Chancellor has allowed for.

The voluntary agreement shaping up between the trade unions and management will have behind it the constraint of legal sanctions. It is less clear what specific cuts in its own expenditures the government will propose, and the opposition Conservatives keep repeating that without substantial sacrifices here, the whole self-inflation program will be ineffective.

What happened at the miners' conference Tuesday is symptomatic of the changing mood of Britain's working people as reflected by their union delegates.

Mr. Scargill's militant Yorkshire delegation had stubbornly insisted on a resolution calling for £100 a week for coal-face workers — miners who actually put coal underground — and proportionate increases for others. (Coal-face workers now receive £81 a week.)

The union's national executive, on which Mr. Scargill sits, tried time and again to obtain a compromise. The Yorkshiremen remained adamant and at one stage they seemed to be winning a narrow majority of the 287 delegates attending the conference. President Joe Gormley and Prime Minister Wilson made their respective public appeals Monday without visibly budging the Scargill line.

Finally Mr. Scargill agreed to "seek" not demand, 100. The fiery Yorkshire leader himself got up in plenary session to propose the amended resolution.

From page 1

## ★ Dazed Portugal gropes for lifeline

Vitor Crespo — who lean in the direction of letting political parties continue to operate in Portugal.

• Gen. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, an anti-party man, whose influence is much strengthened by his being in command of COPCON, the interservice organization responsible for the internal security of Portugal.

• Navy Capt. Remiro Correia who — like Gen. Carvalho — has a constituency of his own which enhances his clout within the council. This constituency is the Army's Fifth Division, charged with the "cultural dynamization" of the Portuguese masses. The program is in some ways like the "hearts and minds" exercises of the Vietnam war. The propaganda put out by Captain Correia's Fifth Division uses Marxist jargon and is generally anti-American.

One of the Revolutionary Council's rules is that its decisions shall be unanimous or by consensus. This results in marathon sessions — sometimes all through the night. Recently a Lisbon periodical asked: "Are the men who get no sleep sleep-walkers?" The implication of the question, of course, is that the MPA may be in charge but is hardly giving the country effective government.

The marathon council meetings often produce long, complex, and sometimes ambiguous documents — which is perhaps not surprising when one recalls the conflicting views within the council that have to be reconciled.

The one thing that holds the council together is the common perception of its members that the MPA has a right to run Portugal since the military succeeded — where political parties had failed over half a century — in putting to an end right-wing authoritarianism and launching (as the MPA sees it) a reforming, liberating revolution.

Until last April's election there was no legitimate challenge to the MPA's unique position. But the 38 percent vote for the Socialists (as in Socialist eyes), given their party a parallel legitimacy which entitles it to a say and to its voice being heard. Hence the Socialist outrage at the closing down of their newspaper, Republics, in May through the arbitrary action of an extreme leftist-led "workers' committee." (The Roman Catholic Church's Radio Renascença has been similarly silenced.)

Equivocal statements from the MPA have led to hopes that both Republics and Radio Renascença would be returned to their original operators, but this has not happened. The equivocations stem from the conflicting pulling and pushing within and around the Revolutionary Council — and to the support that the workers' committees in possession of the newspaper and the radio station have gotten from General Carvalho and COPCON.

These particular workers' committees — while satisfying the Communists of the PCP by silencing a Socialist newspaper — are in fact anathema to the PCP since they are run by heretical Communists. One Socialist member of the Constituent Assembly said he suspected that General Carvalho was supporting the workers' committees not out of ideological commitment to them but because it might be a way to put some distance between the MPA and the PCP.

As for the reopening of Republica under its Socialist editorship in its current premises, many people here do not expect that to happen. The best that the Socialists seem to expect is a resumption of publication in new premises where the presses will be manned by loyal Socialists and not extreme left-wing anti-Socialists of any allegiance.

In the long run, the Socialists hope that the MPA will come to see that none of their tentative blueprints will work in Portugal and that there will be no option left but some form of parliamentary democracy. But some observers here wonder whether the Socialists may not be underestimating the skill and determination of those (not in the MPA) who are committed to anything but parliamentary democracy.

## Libya's President Qaddafi fuels the fires of revolution

By Dana Adams Schmidt  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
One measure of the likelihood of a settlement between Israel and the Arabs is the intensity of the efforts made by President Qaddafi of Libya to bring about a settlement. In the light of the Libyan President, who is a Muslim fundamentalist, to compromise and cooperate with more or less atheistic Marxists.

The compromise is at the root of President Qaddafi's support of Palestinian Fedayeen and Lebanese Muslim leftists in Lebanon in persistent skirmishing with right-wing Christians in Lebanon.

The analysis point out that President Qaddafi was host in mid-June to the leaders of the Palestinian "rejectionist" movement, meaning that they reject settlement with Israel. These were George Habbash, a pragmatic Marxist, and Nayef Hawatmeh, a Marxist-Leninist who considers himself to the left of the Communists.

Through them, it is assumed, funds are being channeled liberally to Palestinians and Lebanese leftists who share their views to prevent Lebanon's internal strife from quieting down (as it has always done before) in spite of the combined efforts of President Sadat of Egypt and President Assad of Syria. Lebanon is a weak state in the main, its relatively moderate Arab villages on Israel's borders, the extremists would like to bring it down. Emergence of a radical government in Beirut prepared to give the Palestinian Fedayeen free rein might precipitate Israeli intervention. That would put an end to the whole quest for settlement.

President Qaddafi remains the odd man out of the Arab world who would be dismissed were it not for his wealth. His passionate religiosity and aspirations to serve as leader of the Arab world combine with the ability he has demonstrated to make pragmatic compromises with revolutionaries of the political Left.

How effective he can be has been demonstrated in the years since he overthrew King Idriss by success in persuading half-a-dozen young African republics to turn out Israel

technical-aid missions in return for Libyan money.

Lately the money has been flowing into President Qaddafi's coffers less freely. Production of his highly desirable low-sulfur oil is down from 3 million barrels a day; he is said to have depleted the reserves of \$4 billion by \$1 billion.

But President Qaddafi still has plenty of money to fuel the fires of revolution.

In addition to the conflict his money is reported to be flowing not only in Lebanon but in the Dhoofar rebellion against the Sultan of Oman, in the Eritrean rebellion against Ethiopia, in support of the leftist regime of Somalia, and even in the faraway rebellion of Muslim tribesmen against the government of President Marcos in the Philippines.

Libyan activity in the Mideast has been on the rise ever since the breakdown of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy in March. Libyan catagolization of President Sadat and the United States rose to fever pitch during the meetings between President Ford and President Sadat and later Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

In the midst of this campaign in May, Premier Alexei N. Kosygin of the Soviet Union arrived in Tripoli and negotiated an arms deal the proportions of which are mysterious but which unquestionably enhances President Qaddafi's effectiveness as revolutionary leader. It also put the seal on his willingness to cooperate with Marxists although the Palestinian extremists have nothing to do with Moscow, which prefers the more moderate Palestine Liberation Organization and Al-Fatah headed by Yasser Arafat.

Whatever the amount of arms, the deal follows up an agreement between Libya and the Soviet Union in 1974 under which some Libyans are learning to fly in the Soviet Union and some Soviet technicians are in Libya. It makes President Qaddafi more of a threat than ever.

Libyan Prime Minister Abdel Salam Jalloud in mid-June undertook a journey to Damascus, Syria, Baghdad, Iraq, and Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. It is assumed, in search of support. But nothing that has come out of these capitals since then suggests that he succeeded.

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# Latin America



General Pinochet: adamant

## Chilean junta boss rules out elections

By James Nelson Goodsell  
Latin America correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Chilean Gen. Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, president of the country's ruling military junta, has scotched any expectation of an early return to civilian rule.

In talks with provincial authorities in the southern city of Concepcion, General Pinochet said he has no intention of turning the government over to civilians or of setting up a mixed civilian-armed forces government.

"I am going to die one day," he told his listeners, "and the person who succeeds me will also die. But there will be no elections."

He echoed the same theme in a speech to noncommissioned officers at a suburban Santiago military academy, saying: "There will be no elections."

He added that a mixed civilian-armed forces government "would be just as rotten" as Chile's former civilian governments.

In addition, General Pinochet denied entry over the weekend to a five-member working group of the UN Commission on Human Rights. The group had expected to visit Chile to investigate claims of torture and illegal imprisonment as have other human rights organizations in the past.

The general's views come as top officers of the junta have warned political parties in Chile they will be completely shut down if

they violate military bans on political activity.

This warning seems directed at the centrist Christian Democratic Party, the nation's single largest political group.

The Christian Democrats have been particularly unhappy with the military's ban on political activity. Moreover, it is not lost on the Christian Democrats that the military has permitted formation of a movement to support the military government.

This movement, called the Movimiento de Unidad Nacional, includes many people who were prominent in both the rightist National Party and the extreme rightist Patria y Libertad organization that operated during the final months of the government of President Salvador Allende Gossens in 1973 and 1974.

It is thought in some quarters that the military has decided to set itself up as the single political force in the nation. The junta, for example, is making much at the moment of a recent Gallup poll in which a substantial majority of Chileans expressed satisfaction with the Pinochet government.

"Given the hazards of speaking out in the present climate in Chile," a leading Christian Democrat recently said, however, "it is no wonder the poll leaned toward the government."

There is incipient speculation both in Santiago and in Washington that the military may be determined to put an end to all

political parties in the near future.

Immediately after seizing power in September, 1973, the military leaders outlawed the Communist, Socialist, and other parties and groups that had supported the constitutional Allende government.

They also declared that other political parties, including the Christian Democratic and National Parties, were "in recess." They further banned all political gatherings, organizing, financial campaigns, and the like.

The Christian Democrats, as the largest party in Chile, have been hardest hit by the ban. They also appear to be the target of current statements by government leaders.

Believing that the Christian Democrats have been holding secret meetings, and observing that Eduardo Frei Montalva, the former president who is nominal head of the party, recently criticized the military junta's economic policies, General Pinochet said:

"The government knows perfectly well when these people meet together. They should realize, however, that everything will be finished if they insist on doing this, and political parties will disappear."

But the extreme right has apparently gotten around all these troubles — with the approval of the military.

Organizers of the Movimiento de Unidad Nacional say it is not a political movement, a statement that to many observers both in Santiago and in Washington is a mockery.

## Portuguese flee to Brazil

By James Nelson Goodsell  
Latin America correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Thousands of Portuguese refugees, fleeing the political and economic change under way in their homeland, are arriving in Brazil in such numbers that they are beginning to cause problems for the Brazilian Government.

Many of the new arrivals are taken into the homes of relatives, but a growing number — running into the thousands — have nowhere to go, and calls for the establishment of refugee centers are being heard.

"It is time that we stop ignoring this new element in our midst," the Rio de Janeiro newspaper Correio da Manhã said. "The flow of refugees is so great that serious social and economic problems could result."

Carlos Lacerda, the former governor of Guanabara State, which embraces Rio de Janeiro, said recently that "Brazil has not prepared anything to greet" the refugees. "It is just as if there was nothing being done."

Many of the new arrivals are living in shanty dwellings in Rio, having fled without much money. Others who brought out some savings are finding opportunities for investment and living more adequately.

The actual number of new arrivals is not certain. Government statistics are slow in being tabulated. Officially, the Brazilian Foreign Ministry reported last month a 25 percent increase in the normal immigration total from Portugal. That would mean about 2,500 people this year.

But numerous other sources reject this figure, suggesting it is much higher and that it probably totals 40,000 or more, many of whom do not register.

Whatever the total, it is clear that Portuguese migration to Brazil has gone up noticeably since April, 1974, when an armed coup began the process of change in Portugal that has prompted many Portuguese to leave their homeland.

Brazil was founded by the Portuguese and has long maintained close ties with the motherland. The Brazilian airline VARIG and the Portuguese airline TAP, have numerous flights between the two countries and there is a good deal of visiting back and forth.

Moreover, Brazil is the largest Portuguese-speaking nation in the world.

The most prominent among the refugees is former Premier Marcelo Caetano, who is teaching comparative law at Rio's Gama Filho University in exchange for an apartment, a chauffeured car, and \$2,000 monthly.

The Portuguese are officially forbidden from engaging in political activity, but this has apparently not stopped the former leaders of Portugal. Many of them regularly meet to discuss developments in their homeland and, according to some observers, are discussing ways to unseat the present military leaders in Lisbon.

In addition to Mr. Caetano, there are numerous former legislators, government officials, businessmen, and lawyers living in Rio. Among them are former President Americo Thomaz; Rui Patricio, former minister of foreign affairs; Veiga Macedo and Galvao Telles, former ministers of education; and Jose Dias Rosas, former minister of economy. There are businessmen who had various activities in Brazil before they fled Portugal, and today they are concentrating their efforts on their Brazilian investments.

## 'Unknown' OAS seeks a new image

By James Nelson Goodsell  
Latin America correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Alejandro Orfila, incoming secretary-general of the Organization of American States (OAS), thinks the hemisphere body is "widely misunderstood" in Latin America and "totally unknown" in the United States.

And he intends to do what he can to correct this situation in the new post he assumed July 1.

In an interview at the Argentine Embassy here, where he has served as Argentine ambassador to the United States for the past two years, Mr. Orfila said he wants to make the OAS "a symbol of something that affects the lives" of people in both parts of the hemisphere.

Forward this end, he said, he hopes that the OAS becomes "a symbol of a union of the Americas that is useful to both Joe Doe of Main Street and Jose Gonzalez of Calle Principal."

Mr. Orfila admits there are major differences between Latin America and the United States. "But if we understand our differences," he says, "implying that the OAS can help in this process, then we can come together better."

"At no other time in history has Latin America needed the United States so much and the United States needed Latin America so much."

Mr. Orfila plans to visit all the nations of the hemisphere in his first year in office — and hopes to keep up the practice during each of the five years he serves in his new post.



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# Latin America

## Brazil clinches nuclear deal

By James Nelson Goodsell  
Latin America correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Brazil and West Germany are going ahead with their multibillion dollar nuclear technology agreement despite strenuous objections and mounting concern in the United States and throughout Latin America.

Although Brazil has pledged not to use the pact as a springboard to build atomic bombs or other nuclear devices, signing of the agreement late last week came as Brazilian sources confirmed discovery of vast new uranium reserves in Brazil's Mato Grosso rain forest.

Announcement of the uranium finds is expected to trigger a whole new round of objections to the Brazilian deal as various Latin American nations raise questions about Brazil's growing economic and political muscle and the use to which it will put the eight huge atomic power reactors.

In Buenos Aires, the Argentine capital where much of local attention is riveted on the nation's sagging economic fortunes, there

were calls over the weekend for action to counter the Brazilian-West German deal.

Under terms of the agreement, the West Germans will supply Brazil with a complete fuel cycle system — generally believed to be the first such sale of a complete system to a nonnuclear power. It will give Brazil the most sophisticated nuclear reactor system in Latin America.

This fact is not lost on the Argentines who have long competed for hemisphere hegemony with the Brazilians.

Conversion of so sophisticated a system to the construction of nuclear weapons is relatively easy — and it is this possibility that disturbs the Argentines. It also worries Washington.

This concern was spelled out recently by Dr. Fred C. Ikle, the director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He said it had nothing to do with commercial interests, although the nearly \$3 billion cost of the Brazilian project will certainly boost West Germany's foreign-exchange earnings when they are sagging from downward turns in other exports.

## Panama: UN clout for canal?

By James Nelson Goodsell  
Latin America correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

New York  
Panama is expected to win a seat on the United Nations Security Council later this year — and the result will be increased pressure on the United States for a new Panama Canal treaty.

The UN seat becomes vacant at the time of the next regular UN General Assembly session opening in September and had been expected to go to Argentina.

But Argentina quietly withdrew its candidacy last week and that paved the way for Panama's unopposed candidacy for the Latin American seat.

Behind the Argentine withdrawal is a good deal of diplomatic maneuvering among Latin American nations in recent months.

Panama desperately wanted the seat and let the rest of Latin America know. It did not have too much leverage, however, for it has been a council member recently and the non-permanent council seats are supposed to rotate among nations within regional areas.

But Panama obtained diplomatic leverage in May when the Organization of American States (OAS) met in Washington for its annual general assembly session and named Argentina's Alejandro Orfila as secretary-general.

A number of Latin American nations raise questions about Argentina holding down both the five-year secretary-generalship of the OAS and a two-year non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council.

There have been no other candidates for the UN post and thus the withdrawal of Argentina opens the way for Panama to win the seat which it covets.

Some other Latin American nations might still try to contest the Panamanian candidacy, but given Panama's head start, and Latin America's general support of Panama in its long dispute with the United States over the Panama Canal, this is considered unlikely.

Argentina will ask for, and probably receive, Panamanian support in its bid for the British-held Falkland Islands in the South Atlantic — as a tit-for-tat arrangement in which Argentina will lend its support to Panama in the canal dispute.

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# United States

## \$2 billion needed now to save American cities, mayors say

By Robert P. Hey  
and Brad Kriegerbocker  
Staff correspondents of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Congress returned from its 10-day vacation Tuesday to find on its legislative desk an urgent plea for help from U.S. mayors. The mayors want money—\$2 billion in emergency aid for cities with more than 6 percent unemployment.

If it should pass Congress, Capitol Hill sources expect that it would be vetoed by the President—and that Congress once again would be unable to muster the needed two-thirds majority to override the veto.

The Ford administration opposes such major money bills as this one on two broad grounds:

- That with a prospective budget deficit of some \$80 billion this fiscal year just begun, it is essential not to approve additional major expenditures to prevent worsening episodes of recession and inflation.

- That cities must bring their own budgets into balance rather than rely on the federal government to bail them out of fiscal crises, which merely postpones a city's ultimate financial reckoning. This is the measure the Ford administration gave to New York City Mayor Abraham Beame when he came to Washington in search of funds to stave off financial disaster for his city.

It is the specter that New York's economic difficulties ultimately may be echoed by other large American cities that gives the mayors' plea its urgency. "The seeds of New York are in every American city," warns Joseph L. Alioto, Mayor of San Francisco and president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, which met in Boston.

New York's situation aside, however, the mayors' plea is essentially the same as in years past. But the elected leaders—whose constituencies number a majority of Americans—point to the following indicators of current economic need:

Unemployment in some metropolitan areas approaching twice the national average; property taxes that are becoming confiscatory, leading to increased housing abandonment and an emigrating middle class; City Hall finances bludgeoned by inflation and recession.

A survey of 140 local governments taken for Congress shows that a \$340 million surplus at the beginning of fiscal 1975 became a \$40 million deficit at year's end; that local governments intend to raise \$1.5 billion in new



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New York: rich city on the brink of bankruptcy

taxes and reduced services by \$1.4 billion; and that many cities are canceling or delaying capital-improvements projects.

The same survey shows that total employment in state and local government has grown 28 percent since 1967, twice the growth rate for all other sectors of the economy. At a press conference, mayors said increased costs came primarily as a result of responding to "the needs of the 1960s," and bristled at the suggestion that fiscal mismanagement may have exacerbated the cities' financial plight.

The mayors' biggest push is behind the proposed measure that would provide up to \$2 billion in emergency assistance to state and local governments whenever the national unemployment rate is 6 percent or above.

In essence the mayors are saying their plight stems largely from the current economic recession; that the policies of the federal government caused or worsened the

recession—and that it therefore is up to Uncle Sam to provide the money that will enable the cities to cope with recession-spawned difficulties.

While no total price tag has been put on everything the mayors seek from Washington, it is estimated to be near the \$18 billion package called for when they met last January in Washington. As outlined by Mayor Alioto, this includes \$5 billion for local public works, increased general-revenue-sharing and community-development block grants with greater provision for large city needs, and a federal housing bill "much more elaborate" than the one recently signed by President Ford.

The mayors also are seeking more freedom to spend federal aid as they see fit and resolved to "aggressively oppose" any federal legislation requiring or regulating collective bargaining.

## Opposition fades to offshore drilling

By Curtis J. Sitomer  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Resolution of the controversy between major oil producers and environmentalists over U.S. offshore oil development may soon be in sight.

These are some of the signs:

- Large oil developers—such as Exxon, Arco, and Union, which operate in the Santa Barbara Channel here—are still pushing for early lease sales by the federal government and seeking permits for construction of drilling platforms and onshore processing facilities.

But they privately admit that they have abandoned plans for large-scale offshore development, which would dot the coastline with oil rigs, raise the potential of blowouts, spills, and other production mishaps, and trigger public ire.

- Strong public opposition to offshore oil development may be lessening. Some "anti-drilling" advocates are modifying their stances to "safe drilling" in the face of the nation's energy shortage and economic problems.

For example, in Santa Barbara, where a major blow-out in the Santa Barbara channel in 1969 triggered sharp public reaction against drilling and an indefinite federal and state moratorium on new oil development, voters recently approved the construction of a mammoth onshore oil and gas processing complex just north of the city.

The battle was a bitter one—with environmental groups pitted against Exxon Oil and its backers. And the vote was close—the margin of victory just 1 percent, with city residents rejecting the plan and North County voters approving it.

Oil company spokesmen hail the outcome as a definite indication that the citizens of the area, a region where the "evils" of drilling have been symbolic to ecologists across the nation for six years, are backing down on their previous hard-line "no drilling ever" stand.

However, opponents—such as the citizen-based Get Oil Out (GOO) lobby here—say the vote was too close and the issue muddled by misleading campaign propaganda by the oil companies.

## Australian minister sacked

By Brian Toohey  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Sydney, Australia  
A series of revelations about abortive attempts to raise up to \$4 billion in petrodollars from the Middle East has plunged Australia's Labor government into the deepest crisis of its already troubled 2½-year reign.

The loans crisis so far has led Prime Minister Gough Whitlam into sacking Deputy Prime Minister and Treasurer Jim Cairns, and threatens the career of the outspoken Minerals and Energy Minister, Rex Connor.

Many commentators in Australia are arguing that the government's handling of the loans affair is sufficiently incompetent to justify the opposition's taking of the unprecedented step of using its majority in the Senate to reject the budget due in August and so precipitate an election before the end of the year.

Some analysts say that the situation not only plays right into the hands of the opposition but could well open the way to the premiership for opposition leader Malcolm Fraser.

Dr. Cairns was sacked on the grounds that he misled Parliament about a letter he gave to a friend promising a large commission on any money raised.

Mr. Whitlam also was not satisfied about the propriety of Dr. Cairns's son being employed on his staff while engaging in private business deals.

Dr. Cairns's fall from grace contrasts strongly to the reputation he had gained in his long career in the Labor Party as a leading supporter of a wide range of idealistic causes—most notably his early opposition to the Vietnam war.

The best explanation the former deputy prime minister could offer for telling Parliament that he had not written the letter offering the commission was that he could not remember signing it and that somehow it must have been slipped in with other correspondence.

But the Cairns dismissal still has left the government with a pervasive taint of amateurism, if not chicanery, in its loan-raising efforts.

The amount sought, \$4 billion, was large by any standards, yet the decision to seek it through obscure financial intermediaries was taken in an almost casual manner.

Additionally, the government simply did not have any detailed idea of what it intended to do with any petrodollars it actually managed to get its hands on.

In fact, the decision to seek the money was taken by a small group of ministers, leaving Trade Minister Frank Green, who represented Australia at an international Monetary Fund meeting in Washington earlier this year, in the dark.

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## More and more townies move to the countryside

By Clayton Jones  
Staff writer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Millions of Americans are migrating back to the country—reversing a long trend of rural exodus.

New U.S. Census figures and other recent evidence point to a revival of small town and rural living that most Americans deserted in droves for decades.

This back-to-the-country movement has brought a steady stream of new settlers to certain rural areas, particularly in the West since 1970.

To many Americans, a home in the Rocky Mountains or a self-sufficient farm in Vermont or a small house in an Ozark town is more attractive now than life in a city or suburban dwelling.

"I looked all over the country for the best place to live," says Tom Thompson, a former Dallas, Texas, urbanite who finally built a home atop an Ozark hill in Mountainburg, Arkansas—population 500.

"New people are moving here from all over the United States, leaving the city smog and crime and bringing their children up in a beautiful place," said Mr. Thompson who harvests his home-grown strawberries for string beans from neighbors—the closest one a mile away.

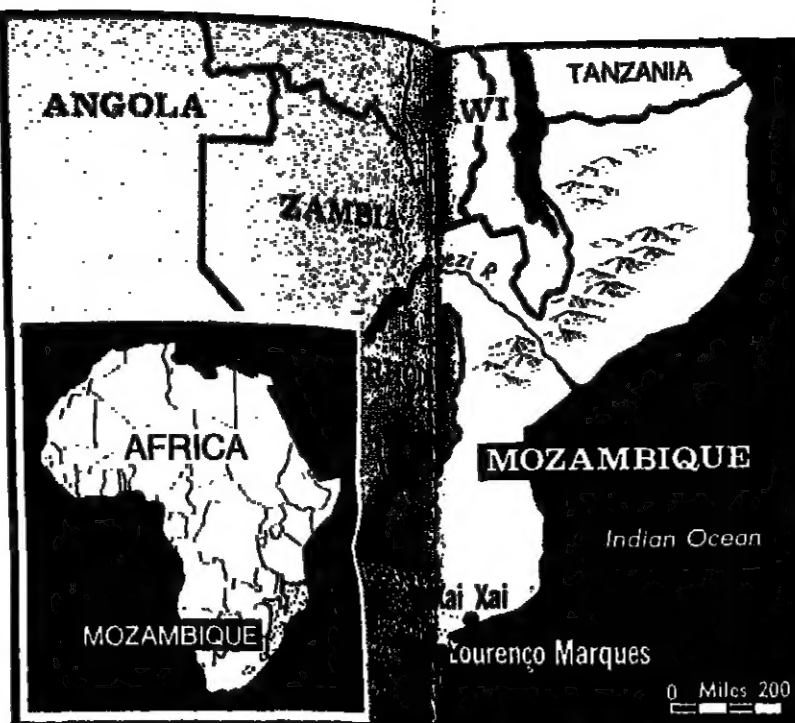
Population gains in rural and nonmetropolitan areas have outpaced growth in metropolitan areas (50,000 or more), latest census figures show for 1970 to 1974.





Photos by Robin Wright

At pre-independence rallies a young Portuguese (left) waves a Mozambique flag; dancers greet the Prime Minister's plane; a Frelimo soldier looks on



By Joan Forbes, staff cartographer

## The new black leadership of the country stride Africa's black-white confrontation zone looks the future Independence in Mozambique

After 500 years of Portuguese rule, Mozambique has won its independence. In preparation for this momentous event, leaders of Frelimo, the liberation group that battled Portuguese troops for 11 years, toured the country to talk with the people about their impending freedom. Below is a report from the first Western journalist to travel with the new Prime Minister and his Cabinet.

By Robin Wright

Xai Xai, Mozambique  
The crowd, 11,000 strong, had been waiting, standing, for almost three hours, many having walked over 20 miles to hear what the new leaders of Mozambique had to say. As Prime Minister Joaquim Chissano reached the open platform it started to pour, but no one moved.

"Who has the power?" the energetic figure called to the crowd, ignoring the rain.  
"The people," the crowd called back, smiles breaking out on many faces.

"Who?" he asked again, also smiling.  
"The people," they roared back louder.  
Then, in a sudden serious tone, he asked: "Do you say that just because now you have a black Prime Minister?"

Before giving the crowd an opportunity to answer he continued: "Having freedom does not mean the struggle is over; that the people really have the power."

"We have a whole country in chaos and it will take the people — all the people, black, white and people of color — to do all the work we have ahead of us."

Candidly he appraised the future: "We have many problems. People are starving in the north. Some people have no water. Others have been flooded out of their homes and lost their crops. But we knew we would find Mozambique in the mess. It is now up to us. That is why we began the fight for independence 11 years ago. We wanted to change the inequality and exploitation and rebuild the nation."

For 2½ hours the soft-spoken but charismatic figure held the crowd, all standing in the cool damp night air, as he assessed the future of this massive southeast African country. The only breaks were pauses to hear from the people about their problems and concerns. "Comrade" (Chissano easily wove each issue put forward by the crowd back into the message he had been relaying from the start.)

"What about unequal distribution?" an older man shouted from the back. The Prime Minister responded:

"Before there is equal distribution there must be production. [Currently there is a shortage of both food and foreign exchange in Mozambique.] To do that people must be organized. Equal distribution also means there must be concern about more than the immediate locale or one tribe. Equal distribution means de-tribalization, unity, awareness of the needs of the entire country."

"Discrimination?" a woman called out next.  
"It is not color that exploits and oppresses people; it is a system," Mr. Chissano declared in a firm tone.

### Peacetime Frelimo

"Color alone does not divide. It is ideas, not color, that counts, and anyone who has the right ideas, who wants to work is welcome to stay. Frelimo [Front for the Liberation of Mozambique] fought to establish equality, so we will not refuse equality to those who refused it to us. We need everyone for the work ahead of us."

As people in the crowd continued to call out their problems, the real concerns that had drawn most of them to this rally — What is a peacetime Frelimo? And how will it change their lives? — were slowly being answered.

Although Mozambicans are well acquainted with the movement's reputation and the names of its assassinated founder, Eduardo Mondlane, and current president, Samora Machel, until recently they have known little about its aims and its future.

Since it was founded on June 25, 1962, Frelimo has operated from bases in neighboring Tanzania. The Portuguese Government suppressed publicly about the movement as much as possible. At its peak during the war Frelimo held about one-third of the land, setting up schools, health facilities, farm cooperatives, and establishing new administrative and judicial systems there. But this affected only about 10 percent of the population.

Thus 90 percent of the population knew Frelimo mainly as a military unit, when the transitional government took over last Sept. 30. And communication since then has been difficult

because 80 percent of the population is illiterate and cannot read the newspapers or sidewalk billboards that broadcast Frelimo's socialist platform.

### Restoring people's initiative

At Xai Xai (formerly Joan Belo) the Prime Minister told the crowd:

"The colonialists took initiative away from the people. We had no voice in what we grew, how much we produced, what happened to our produce. We want to give it back to the people."

The crowd cheered.

The newspaper has a practical as well as a symbolic value. Frelimo has neither the manpower nor the money to run each village and replace the Portuguese with Mozambicans.

First of all, the nation currently faces a shortage of skilled personnel, due mainly to the mass exodus of 100,000 Portuguese, who dominated the education and labor. The white population of just over 1 million has been halved since January, 1973.

But more fundamentally, Frelimo believes that in principle the masses should be involved in the movement. Throughout the war the movement pressed to alter the system to allow greater self-reliance and to work over.

### 'Spreading the revolution'

Promoting participation in the new government was the first goal of the revolution — was thus one of the first goals of the tour that brought Frelimo officials to Xai Xai. Prime Minister repeatedly told the crowd here: "Frelimo does not produce, does not solve our problems, does not bring unity; we must apply it through organization."

Frelimo has a specific plan of organization. It is currently installing throughout the country a network of cells. At the core of the cell is a group of people gathered in a residential area. A secretariat elected by the cell administers the unit.

Cells theoretically are "to set in motion the creative ability." Specifically, the most immediate task of the cells is to implement two programs: to educate the masses.

"Dynamization," a political "consciousness-raising" program, is the chief concern. Through it Frelimo hopes to explain its policies and prepare people for their new responsibilities. "Alphabetization" is a dual education and work program designed to lower Mozambique's illiteracy rate and organize cooperatives for farming.

Basically cells are to promote the "collective spirit" and to replace the tribal unit as the source of local authority. Previously both production and administration — except in the few urban areas — have been tied to the country's nine main tribes, which were easily controlled by the colonial government. Now village administration will be reorganized into elected people's committees, and agriculture reorganized so that producers work in cooperatives under the direction of the local party.

The elimination of tribalism and the switch to a "people's democracy" is a radical one and the Frelimo leadership is trying hard to make it a smooth and fast one — again for both ideological and practical reasons.

Currently Mozambique relies economically on South Africa and Rhodesia, which use its ports and railways, and on South African employment of Mozambican mineworkers. Through these ties South Africa provided about 75 percent of Mozambique's foreign exchange.

### Economic freedom

The new government is determined to become economically independent, and agriculture is one of the chief means to this goal. Although agriculture has provided 80 percent of Mozambique's exports, the system is drastically underdeveloped. Only 17 percent of the territory's fertile land is cultivated, and mainly for subsistence farming. Through encouraging new cooperatives and the "collective spirit" Frelimo hopes to spur production and provide badly needed new revenue to help pay off the country's exorbitant \$600 million external debt.

In explaining the next stage of "the struggle" to his Xai Xai audience, the Prime Minister said:

"We will have to work hard to achieve real independence. The most important steps to real freedom are organization and unity, so we can produce for the future and fight any remnants of the past. You control the future," he told the crowd, "because you control the pace at which we organize and unite to begin this work."

Robin Wright is an Alliea Patterson Foundation award winner on leave from The Christian Science Monitor.

Prime Minister Joaquim Chissano talks with villagers about independence and the challenges ahead





# science/financial

## Superweapon? Conventional are bad enough!

By Robert C. Cowen  
Soviet party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev's recent call for a ban on horror weapons touched off a rash of speculation. But the visions of futuristic warfare have missed a disturbing present trend — the step by step development of "conventional" arms that, in sum, amounts to a revolution.

Increasingly accurate missiles already allow individual soldiers to knock out tanks or planes. As Frank Barnaby, director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute has pointed out, individual soldiers soon will have enormous firepower at their finger tips, especially if small nuclear charges were fitted to some of the missiles. If such highly accurate missiles were then used in automatic weapons systems under computer control and with electronic sensors to detect the enemy they would impersonalize conventional war to an extent that could itself amount to a new type of horror.

Added to this is the diversion, by Dr. Barnaby's estimate, of nearly half of the world's scientific and technical manpower into weapons work.

Since Mr. Brezhnev didn't specify what he had in mind, commentators have been free to speculate.

There is talk of laser "death rays." The intense, highly directional light of a laser can vaporize steel and other materials. But it's hard to see how even lasers many times more powerful than those now available could do more than punch bullet-size holes in a tank.

Then there is the dream of using elementary particles to make a new kind of bomb. Since physicists scarcely begin to understand these particles, that is indeed fanciful.

Visions of weather warfare are slightly more credible. The U.S. and U.S.S.R. are negotiating a ban on this. Here again, though, meteorologists have only dim notions of how to wage a weather war.

In short, Mr. Brezhnev may not have referred to any specific weapon. All of this underscores Dr. Barnaby's point that it is fashionable to try to limit nuclear arms, of which America and Russia have enough, and to speculate about forestalling imagined future weapons. But there is little concern for the conventional arms race in which many countries are running, which is lucrative, and which is, in its totality, as big a threat to mankind as the atomic bomb.

Here is a nonimaginary menace that is building every year.

### EXCHANGE RATES

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Australian dollar	1.46
Belgian franc	33.7
Brazilian cruzeiro	131
British pound	2.32
Colombian peso	187
Danish krone	3.04
French franc	1.78
Dutch guilder	2.41
Hong Kong dollar	4.03
Israeli pound	380
Italian lire	168
Japanese yen	241
Mexican peso	100
Norwegian krone	197
Portuguese escudo	440
South African rand	1.410
Spanish peseta	161
Swedish krona	248
Swiss franc	390
Venezuelan bolivar	2340
W. German deutschmark	415

## Economic scene

## Portugal: crisis of authority

By David R. Francis

Portugal's surprisingly frank Finance Minister, Jose Joaquin Fragoso, knows pretty well what's wrong with his country's economy. The question is: Can he get the ruling Armed Forces Movement (AFM) to enforce remedial measures?

At present, Portugal faces a crisis of authority. The nation has too many bosses — the 28 military officers that make up the Supreme Revolutionary Council. They can't make up their collective minds quickly.

Last month it took the council eight days of nearly continuous meeting to draft an important communique stating the goal of the AFM as the creation of a socialist, classless society through collectivization of production.

To the great relief of Portugal's tiny middle class, the communique also repudiated the "implantation of socialism by violent or dictatorial method."

Also it said the socialist goal would be reached in a "pluralistic way" with free expression and discussion of opinion. And it recognized "the existence of various political parties and currents of opinion, even if they don't necessarily defend socialist options."

There was some ambiguity as to the democratic plans of the military further down in the communique. Nevertheless, observers here regarded its wording as generally a victory for the "moderates" in the Armed Forces Movement.

The problem — on the political as well as the economic side — is one of turning words into action. Portugal has at present an ineffective government. The AFM dismantled many of the institutions and channels of communication and control of the former rightist dictatorship. It has not replaced these yet with a cohesive substitute system of government. Decisions are not always implemented.

Mr. Fragoso, for instance, noted that Portugal's key economic problem is that its exports pay for only half its imports. Before the revolution, tourism and emigrant remittances covered this payments gap. Now, because of fear of a Communist

coup and leftist turmoil, tourism and remittances have declined drastically.

So the Finance Minister has drafted an austerity program to bring the international payments into better balance by curbing the importation of "nonessential goods" and other measures.

Now they must be discussed by the political parties, the government, and the Supreme Revolutionary Council.

Then comes the hard part for Portugal today. Notes Mr. Fragoso: "It is necessary to implement the decisions. It is a matter of authority."

Portugal, he explained, is suffering from a "euphoria of liberty" after decades of rightist dictatorship.

The military and the political parties must somehow get together to govern the nation effectively — or they risk letting the Communists take over by default.

Mr. Fragoso, who was with the nation's development bank for 15 years, sees some of the problems realistically.

For example, some emigrants aren't sending money into Portugal to buy small apartments or homes as investments for their retirements because some of these properties have been taken over by leftist workers. Mr. Fragoso admits such actions have to be stopped.

"It is important to give confidence to these people," he says.

But so far the occupations by mostly opportunists or anarchists have not been stopped.

Another case: The basic minimum salary was more than doubled by government edict to \$130 a month in May, 1974, and raised again to \$157 a month in June of this year. That is more than many firms can afford.

The Finance Minister knows this and figures exceptions will have to be made. But the mechanism for doing so is unclear.

Investment, foreign or domestic, has almost ground to a halt because of uncertainty over the ground rules.

Mr. Fragoso concedes that the government must state what sectors of the economy will be left to free enterprise



Portuguese keep up with revolution

and under what conditions. But he hasn't been doing yet.

"We are losing time," he says. And time is short for Portugal as democracy as the Communists and other leftists continue their efforts to infiltrate and control the trade unions, the universities, and nationalized enterprises.

## Minister's budget bewilders Canadians

Prices and incomes controls rejected  
and only mild spending restraints announced

By Don Sellar

Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Ottawa  
Many Canadians are scratching their heads in bewilderment following the Trudeau government's latest budget presentation, the second in only two months.

The confused response has resulted at the budget centerpieces because a 15-cent-a-gallon increase in gasoline prices had been anticipated widely for several months.

The question, put by reporters to Finance Minister John Turner immediately after he delivered the 16,000-word budget speech in Parliament, was: "Why was there a budget at all?"

For, stripped of the 10-cent-a-gallon gasoline "conservation" tax, the \$1.50-a-barrel boost in national oil prices to 75¢, and a 24-percent hike in "natural gas" prices, the document was almost devoid of content.

The budget, Mr. Turner's fifth in 3½ years as Finance Minister, seemed to be more a government rejection of stern anti-inflation measures than an action document.

Mr. Turner clearly rejected any form of price and income controls to dampen the country's 11 percent inflation rate and an-

nounced only mild government spending restraints.

Instead of growing at the rate of 4 percent a year, the public service will increase by 3 percent this year, while government spending climbs \$4 billion to \$31 billion. The nation's deficit will be a record \$5 billion, up from \$1.5 billion last year.

The higher energy prices, designed to spur petroleum exploration and help pay fuel subsidies in Canada's five eastern provinces dependent on high-priced oil imports, will add 1.5 percent to the inflation rate this year.

The government slashed its spending plans by \$1 billion, but added \$2 billion in new spending, mainly to rejuvenate the sagging home construction industry, provide more jobs for young people, and cover higher-than-expected bills for existing programs, including unemployment insurance.

The document means that the average Canadian motorist will pay about \$100 a year more for personal driving, and those earning more than \$25,000 a year will pay perhaps \$200 more in income taxes.

It also has been taken as confirmation that Mr. Turner, the No. 2 man in the Cabinet of Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, has presented his last budget.

For months, there have been rumors that the Finance Minister wanted another year or even a new career outside public life. But denials have been less than enthusiastic.

Asked about his future during the budget news conference, Mr. Turner was indignant. "Tonight my future is not an important issue in comparison to the future of this country that it is not worth talking about," he snapped.

The continued survival of Mr. Turner, the top political post thus far has costed the ambition Mr. Turner may harbor for the prime ministership.

His resignation to the difficult and politically punishing finance post long has been viewed as a deliberate move by Mr. Turner to protect his own prominence.

With little to announce in his latest budget even though the nation remains mired in recession, Mr. Turner lacked much to say with reporters.

His days in the finance post seem numbered, but his future is less certain than ever before. Some pundits think Mr. Turner will seek the job as the International Monetary Fund, or return to private life, perhaps as a corporate lawyer.

## Amsterdam's birthday party

By Leavitt F. Morris  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Amsterdam  
Crisscrossed by dozens of canals and waterways, Amsterdam, aptly referred to as the Venice of the North, sparkles anew as 17th-century buildings are restored and renovated for the city's year-long celebration of its 700th birthday.

Long known as the city of gables and glass, its buildings striding shoulder-to-shoulder along the canals now glisten with coats of fresh paint and with windows polished to a mirror-like sheen.

Visitors can enjoy a wide variety of daily events throughout the year as Amsterdam carries out the official theme, "700 Years of Living, Working, and Playing." These activities will include historic and art exhibitions, concerts, plays, opera and ballet, sailing meets, floral shows, and many major architectural restoration projects.

Providing added impetus to Amsterdam's birthday celebrations are the national observances in neighboring countries of European Architectural Year. In Amsterdam, there are 6,743 officially designated historic monuments, 17 percent of the approximately 40,000 monuments in the Netherlands.

Amsterdam can best be seen from the glass-enclosed water taxis which make leisurely daily round trips along the canals and into the harbor.

As the water taxi glides along, it passes many houseboats where families live in almost as much comfort as their land-based neighbors. Broad picture windows, some framed with lace curtains, display potted flowering plants and bouquets of jonquils, tulips, and other seasonal blooms. TV antennas sprout from the roofs, and laundry is hung out to dry.

It appears as though the houses and buildings beside the canals are about to pitch forward into the water. This is no optical illusion; they do lean forward. They were deliberately built this way to protect the facades from rain and to make it easier to hoist furniture and merchandise to upper levels without having them bump against the building.

Holsts were essential because of the narrow staircases, similar to those on ships with which the seagoing Dutch were familiar.

Tours through old and new Amsterdam in sight-seeing buses cover such places as the Rembrandt House, Stock Exchange, Queen's Palace, the former Jewish quarter, and visits to the Rijksmuseum and to a diamond-cutting company.

At van Moppes & Zoon, a privately owned company dating back to the early 1800s, the visitor can see workers take a rough diamond and make it into a polished gem. The company offers to clean the diamond rings of its visitors free of charge.

A helpful guide to seeing Amsterdam is its Magic Box, which contains 12 cards giving points of interest according to districts. The numbering of the districts is repeated on a map so one may easily find one's way either by walking or by bus or tram. The Magic Box costs 3.50 guilder or about \$1.50. Additional cards may be purchased at 10 cents each. There is a hidden surprise in each box.

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17th-century houses bordering Amsterdam canal: all spruced up for the celebrations

For shoppers, Amsterdam has four main streets where shops and stores, carrying every conceivable kind of merchandise, from Dutch chocolates to diamonds, are concentrated. The streets are Kalverstraat, for pedestrians only, Halligeweg, Koningsplein, and Leidsestraat.

Window shopping is a favorite pastime of tourists everywhere, and from the looks of the high prices being asked here, that may be the only type of shopping visitors can afford. Merchants and tourist officials alike are deeply concerned over the high cost of meals and hotel accommodations too. They are not overly optimistic for the upcoming summer season.

The dollar's purchasing power in relation to the guilder has dropped. At this

writing, it was 2.40 to the U.S. dollar. If bought in a bank, guilders cost more if bought at hotels, as they charge a fee for this service.

One way to save money for visitors leaving the country by air is to buy at the tax-free shops at Schiphol, Amsterdam's airport. These shops are well supplied with a variety of goods including Delftware, cheeses, watches, diamonds, cameras, and bulbs. All items may be ordered for future delivery.

Hotel accommodations in Amsterdam are plentiful since the opening of two new hotels here — the 400-room Amsterdam Marriott and the 380-room Sonesta.

The architects of the Marriott have been able to convey the atmosphere of the Dutch with an intimate charm in its public rooms and restaurants. The hotel is centrally located,

within walking distance of famous museums, theaters, and the Leidsestraat.

The Amsterdam Sonesta, a four-star hotel with five-star adjoining Sonesta Tower, is a pleasant blend of 17th-century and contemporary architecture. It is close to the American Express office, the Royal Palace, and several museums.

Rates at Amsterdam's deluxe hotels for a double room with two people can be as high as \$65 to \$75 a day, European plan. There are many smaller hotels and pensions offering adequate comfort and service which the budget-minded tourist may find at less cost, though. The Netherlands tourist office in Amsterdam has a list of these low-cost places and gladly will give visitors their names and locations.

## Linz: ancient Austrian town by the Danube

By John Bowen  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Linz, Austria  
Linz is not just another industrial center. The easily identified marks of a Roman frontier post are there, along with a castle and the churches of much later periods. Furthermore, the city devotes a major share — more than one-third — of its land area to parks.

Linz is indebted for some of its charm to its beautiful setting on the Danube River, to which its economy is linked today, just as it has been throughout the city's long and active history.

The most historic part of Linz extends outward from the river and includes Hofgasse, a street where numerous houses from the Middle Ages still remain. The main square has the customary tripartite votive column — this one erected in 1723 — and modern sculptures on the facade of City Hall, which recalls associations with Frederick III, astronomer Johannes Kepler, and composer Anton Bruckner, among others.

The Cathedral, a late 17th-century structure easily identified by twin baroque steeples, is at one end of the square. The ornate interior includes liams from area monasteries and six side altars of Salzburg marble.

The nearby Minoriten Church, located across the street from the tourist office, is a little older; it's known for its baroque interior.

The most famous church is also the least imposing: Martinikirche, the oldest house of

worship in Austria still in the original design. It originates from later Roman or early Bavarian times and was rebuilt for the first time toward the end of the 8th century.

Martinikirche has a plain exterior and modestly decorated interior, with Gothic-style wooden statues and 13th- and 14th-century frescoes.

The castle of Linz, now a museum, sits on a hill near the historic center of the city. The best overviews are from the windows and yards; below the castle, a stairway leads to narrow, ancient streets and back to the Danube by hilly Postlingberg.

Displays inside the castle include many religious objects, including Gothic-style statues dated as early as 1300. Among the regional artifacts are stoves, a large wooden apple press, glassware, a good collection of elaborately decorated household cabinets, and even some whole rooms from farmhouses.

The city's Roman history is marked by outdoor displays of ancient headstones and carvings. But modern Linz has some interesting features, too: a large and attractive botanical garden, complemented by hot houses; Brucknerhaus, a modern theater and music center; away from the main part of the city, new university buildings attractively arranged around a shallow pool; a hillside garden-style restaurant, Milchmarkt, which occupies a 17th-century building overlooking the city, and traditional hotel restaurants noted for atmosphere and service on the main square.

On another level, the walking tour includes a visit to the main square of Linz as it was in 1900 — in miniature, of course — and a number of dioramas depicting scenes from well-known fairy tales, most, such as Little Red Riding Hood, Hansel and Gretel, and Snow White, familiar to everyone.

A developing port emphasizes Linz's continuing industrial side. Port and shipbuilding facilities stretch along one section of the Danube, and the area is growing — partly in response to plans to create a river and inland system from Linz to the Black Sea.

Linz is accessible by air, rail, and boat from Vienna and by rail from Munich, Germany. A Vienna-Linz train-boat combination is one of the most pleasant rides in Europe.

The rail line follows the Danube, revealing the moody river at its best in several places. It also passes many villages and historic sights, including hilltop Melk Monastery. Most travelers save time by riding the train to Linz and returning to Vienna by boat, since the 8½-hour downstream ride is several hours shorter than the upstream struggle.

Newest hotel in Linz is the Tourotel, which overlooks the Danube near Brucknerhaus. Rates start at \$35 single and \$27 double, including continental breakfast. This hotel, Hotel Wolfinger on Hauptplatz, and Krensmueller Weinstub, serve good food; dinner probably will start around \$8. Coffee and cakes at Milchmarkt coincide with a spectacular view.



## arts

# Woody Allen's latest— 'Love and Death'— laces irony with laughs

By David Sklar

Woody Allen hasn't made his version of "War and Peace" yet, but his latest movie is the next best thing.

It's called "Love and Death" and — despite the hilariously pretentious title — it's as profoundly unpretentious as a village-idiot convention. In fact, some of it is a village-

## Film

Idiot convention. And some of it is a plot to assassinate Napoleon. And some of it is Napoleon's plot to invent a certain pastry before his opponent invents Beef Wellington. ("The fate of Europe hangs in the balance!") Begin to get the picture?

If you remember "The Seventh Seal" by Ingmar Bergman, you'll remember "death" as a black-robed figure with a hankering for chess. In "Love and Death" we meet the same symbolically characterized figure, who is white and he carries a scepter and he looks like he doesn't care for games. But he does keep up a running acquaintance with our hero, Boris, a

mystical sort who eventually finds fame and fortune as one of Russia's leading cowards.

As usual with characters played by Woody himself, Boris doesn't feel quite at home in the universe. His lovely cousin preaches the beauties of nature. But to Boris, nature is just big fish eating little fish — "kind of like a gigantic restaurant." And things always go wrong. His parents won't let him dodge the draft. When he fights a duel he shoots himself in the arm. His girlfriend marries a herring merchant.

Eventually Boris finds true happiness with that girlfriend — the lovely Sonja, played by the lovely Diane Keaton, Allen's favorite co-star. But she's the one who comes up with the plot against Napoleon, and now I won't tell any more of the plot, which is too funny to give away. Of course, you know it'll come out all right in the end. But then this Boris is really a loser. Maybe it won't come out all right, but at least there'll be plenty of laughs along the way.

The historical setting aside, "Love and Death" is very much a Woody Allen picture — which makes sense since he directed and wrote it, besides starring. It has Allen's usual comic consistency and sense of detail (the



Destined to go far: "Love and Death's" shooting star (Woody Allen) in costume

very opposite of Mel Brooks's raucous shout-fests). It showcases Allen's performing talents in a smoothly assembled setting that pulses along to the beat of a racing Prokofiev score. And it swims in a sea of Allenesque irony — irony that might be very sad if it weren't laced with chuckles several times per minute.

Like other Woody Allen movies, "Love and Death" is a grown-up comedy — some viewers might find its PG (parental guidance) rating strained by a few of the punchier lines. But it's all in fun, and mighty effective fun most of the way. If I had to rate "Love and Death" on the Woody scale, I guess I'd place it under

"Sleeper" and over "Bananas," below "The Money and Run" but way above "Anything You Always Wanted To Know About Sex."

Fortunately, though, I don't have to rate "Love and Death." It has its ups and downs, like all works of humor. But this gifted named Allen remains the most deeply civilized, and complete screen comic since Buster Keaton and Charlie Chaplin. With perhaps why he pays homage to Chaplin's hysterical scene, wherein Boris and some called Don Francisco are found belting over the head with a bottle and eggs, including Sonja, is, yes, giggling. . .

# Black culture looks toward its biggest world fest

By Diana Loecherer

The most ambitious project in the history of black culture — The Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC) — taking place in Lagos, Nigeria Nov. 22-Dec. 30 is sure to prove that Africa is steadily emerging not only as a political power, but as a cultural force.

A frequent topic of conversation these days is the effectiveness, exhaustion, even the decadence of certain Western art forms. So it is not inconceivable that African culture and

## Art

its derivatives in other countries may become an increasingly important source of inspiration.

Comments Ossie Davis, FESTAC honorary chairman and prominent director and actor, "It should be an event that will change the history of the world."

The festival is a sequel to the one held in Senegal in 1966 which was much smaller in scope. Approximately 30,000 black and African artists from 70 countries are expected to participate in FESTAC. Nigeria was chosen as the site because it was the "birth" of the first festival and is one of the few African countries prosperous enough to build the "festival village" necessary to accommodate the estimated 100,000 visitors.

S. S. Waniko, special assistant to the president of FESTAC, declared that the goal of the festival is "to celebrate, to share, and to codify the untold contributions of black and African artists to world culture." The categories are dance, film, visual art, theater, music, and literature. A colloquium called "Black Civilization and Education" will precede the festival.

Dr. Jeff Donaldson, a painter and chairman of the art department at Howard University is chairman of FESTAC's North American zone and responsible, in concert with a 23-member board of regional directors, for the selection, transportation, and housing of the anticipated 2,500 U.S. artists and performers. The main criteria for selection, according to Dr. Donaldson, are "artistic excellence and a high level of professionalism."

Dr. Donaldson is also spearheading a \$3.5 million fund-raising drive because the United States is the only country which is not subsidizing the participants, except for a \$50,000 grant from the State Department, in accordance with FESTAC's own wishes. Support is being sought instead from the private sector to minimize governmental influence — corporations, foundations, and individuals — and affluent black artists will probably pay their own way.

## Touring exhibition

In the meantime a beguiling survey of black culture, African style, is currently touring the United States in the form of an exhibition called "A Contemporary African Arts Festival." It consists of approximately 200 works: pottery, leatherwork, textiles, painting, sculpture, print-making, carved calabash (the hard shell of a fruit in the gourd family), architecture, music, poetry, dance, and film. The goal of the exhibition is to illustrate the best of contemporary African art, both traditional and innovative.

Frank Willett, Professor of African Art and Archaeology at Northwestern University, writes in the introduction to the catalogue that serves as the exhibition catalogue: "It is to be hoped that Western collectors will adjust to the role of supporting the living artists of



A Bruce Onobrakpaya print

Africa instead of continuing to parasitize the limited quantity of ancient African art which ought to be preserved in Africa to inspire the present generation of artists and those of the future."

Organized by Mande Wahlman, consultant in African Ethnology at the Field Museum in Chicago where the exhibition originated, it is currently on display at the American Museum of Natural History in New York. Western influences on ethnic themes and styles are

apparent, and the basic theme of the exhibition is that these are having a positive, revitalizing effect.

Among the artists cultivating exotic ethnic hybrids are Asiru Olatunde of Nigeria, who invented a new technique for making metal relief panels which depict ethnic and African scenes in a highly stylized manner, and Kadiato Karama from Sierra Leone, who uses modern dyes and methods to improve the ancient art and patterns of dyeing and resist-dyeing. The paintings of Bruce Onobrakpaya are sophisticated blends of abstract and primitive styles. The fact that this exhibition identifies the artists by name is symbolic of its endorsement of applied West Africanization.

## Art and life

From the Western point of view one of the most striking elements of African art is its illustration of art and life. As Mrs. Wahlman explains in the catalogue, there is really no distinction between art and crafts because art has a function, whether it be the colorful intricate leatherwork fashioned by the Yoruba peoples of the Sahara for their carved calabashes or the performing arts which celebrate ceremonies, festivals, and rituals. Art is African and life is African; it is part of daily human experience and does not inhabit a mythical aesthetic realm.

The exhibition will remain at the Museum of Natural History through July 20 and appear at the Minnesota Museum of Art in St. Paul, Sept. 17-Oct. 10, and the Howard Museum in Phoenix, Ariz., Jan. 10, 1976-Feb. 21. African films, demonstrations, and performances on various parts of each exhibition.

# Doris Lessing: vision of a broken society

The Memoirs of a Survivor, by Doris Lessing. New York: Knopf. \$6.95. London: Octagon. 2.05.

By Victor Howes

What happens when the machine stops? What follows when the cumbersome mechanism of supply and demand, of taxation and civic administration, of marriage and the family breaks slowly down, crumbles and withers away?

Anything but Utopia, according to British writer Doris Lessing, author of "The Golden Notebook" and many more novels. Rather, as she imagines it in her "Memoirs of a Survivor," a time of hardship ensues, a reversion to older times of foraging, bartering, storing, of refashioning old clothes, growing our own food, making, baking, recycling and improvising.

So far, so good, you might say, ecologically speaking. But there is more to it than that. Along with the shortages of everything that makes for comfort and convenience arrives a growing anarchy, an atmosphere of siege or war. Water, heat, electricity become unbearably scarce. Parental care abdicates almost completely. Roving bands of youths take to looting, pillaging, and standing about on street corners. Abandoned children of ten and under take to living in desperate, possibly cannibalistic, gangs, in the Underground.

The police and the military, unable to cope,



Doris Lessing By Peter Lessing

confine themselves to sporadic raids on suburbs too chaotic to tolerate. These grim matters, and more, are narrated by one who survived. Mrs. Lessing's narrator is an older woman, a motherly but strangely passive and vividly day-dreaming older woman, who has mysteriously been given charge of a thirteen-year-old girl.

Through the teen-ager's experience, the mother-surrogate narrator learns about life in a young people's commune, and when the commune inevitably dissolves, the narrator rescues herself and her young charge, plus some of the commune members, by vanishing into a daydream. Or so it seems.

Mrs. Lessing's conclusion is far from satisfactory. Her incursions into urban 20th-century Swiss Family Robinson Land are absorbing, but not altogether persuasive. Each of us has his own conception of what it would be like to survive a catastrophe of major proportions. No one thinks it a picnic, but it is hard to accept Mrs. Lessing's anarchic, permissive society, harder still to accept her nonplussed adults, officials, authorities.

And I for one am unable to accept her cop-out ending, where her people literally walk through a wall into another, richer, phantasmagorical world. An allegory? Perhaps. A development of thematic materials touched upon in her earlier novels? Perhaps, but meaning what?

Much of the novel is valid, perceptive, authentically observed. The effects upon children and teen-agers of experiences that would crush many an adult, the psychology of gangs, the ingenious solutions to problems of food and power-supply, these elements redeem the book. "Memoirs" is however, in the end, marred by a softness that refuses to go all the way. You grit your teeth, you are prepared to bite the bullet, but the inside of the bullet is not steel, it is marshmallow.

Victor Howes is a poet, essayist, and novelist who teaches English at North-eastern University.

# Thurber's life: not always a laughing matter

Thurber, by Burton Bernstein. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$15.

By Roderick Nordell

James Thurber's humor has been admired by everyone from poet T. S. Eliot (who saw it as "also a way of saying something serious") to all the dreaming-of-glory Walter Mittys in the ready-made clothes of you and me. This authorized but incensored biography is so richly detailed in Thurber's own words and wordplay that it even includes some of the reasons for the Mittys among this newspaper's writers and readers to maintain their special niche for Thurber, particularly in these days of recession.

For Thurber appreciated what a bonanza it was for him to become the Columbus, Ohio, free-lance correspondent for what he called "the justly great Christian Science Monitor's" half century ago.

"It means a lot in possible prestige and not a little in money since they pay the wonderful rate of 37 and one half cents the inch, or about 2 to 10 dollars a column, and since they use much academic, literary and educational stuff I plot many articles of length."

Those euphoric words came when Thurber was a young newspaperman writing to Elliott Nugent, post college buddy at Ohio State University, future collaborator on the droll stage satire "The Male Animal," and uncle — just to be sure you have all the news — of the Monitor's present arts editor, Alan Bunce.

This might seem merely it's-a-small-world stuff. Only Thurber later credited his Monitor experience with "one of the reasons I became a humorist," as he put it when I interviewed him about "The Years With Ross," his book about the legendary founding editor of the New Yorker, Harold Ross.

Thurber wrote that Ross never forgot Thurber's Monitor filing and said: "Thurber worked too long on newspapers. . . He'll always write journalism." In the interview Thurber added that the humor of his Monitor days began when his ruminative cheeks were made out to "Miss Jane Thurber" — and, after he finally protested, the polite letter of reply started off with "Dear Miss Thurber."

Certainly, if Thurber ever wrote journalism, it didn't survive long at the New Yorker, whose pages were adorned for years by his supple and imaginative prose, not to mention the "Thurber dogs" and other drawings for which he became equally famed. It is by now an old story that his gifted fellow writer, E. B. White, "discovered" Thurber as a cartoonist, rescuing the kind of drawing Thurber continually made for his own amusement and threw

away. But in this biography it becomes clear how much of a debt to White was recognized by Thurber for also improving his writing.

Sadly, as in so many other instances, Thurber's relations with "Andy" White became strained. Just as Thurber's humor could change from marvelous self-mockery to the more callous laughter of superiority or to black comedy before the term was invented — so he could change in person from charm and wit and consideration to rudeness, egomania, and a doomlike fulfillment of the sad cliché that you always hurt the one you love. Imagine Walter Mitty played for laughs instead of for laughs.

Liquor drastically brought out the worst in Thurber. The loss of an eye as a child and the increasing blindness in the other were combined with other physical setbacks to darken his psychological states — and to render the more remarkable his creative achievement in spite of them.

It is understandable that reviews of this biography have emphasized the dark side of Thurber, so at variance with the sunlit comedy of his Ohio reminiscences or elegant fairy tales, for example — and so tempting to lead into his themes of war between the sexes. Biographer Bernstein, a New Yorker writer himself, says that Thurber's widow, Helen, complains that the biography is too negative. Perhaps an outsider should strike a more positive balance if Mrs. Thurber can. For she was the victim of infidelity and target of savage outburst from a man abashed by his dependence on his "seeing-eye wife."

Yet, for all the images of a tortured and torturing individual in the last part of this book, its total weight is not negative. Thurber is often as hilarious on his own plight as on other things. Almost at the very end, he can still summon up a bit of the old foolery in a letter to White: "I . . . don't know what to do about a phoebe outside my window who keeps calling 'Mabel!' instead of 'Phoebe!'"

Throughout the book there is the resilience of the artist coming back again and again, whatever happens to the man. Thurber holds out against communism, McCarthyism, and the four-letter word. He repeatedly dies the doctor who told him, "You lost the apparatus of vision, but you went on seeing anyway."

From schoolboy Walter Mitty to World War I code work to a Columbus newspaper column to caption-writing for the New Yorker — every strand of Thurber's way of seeing is traced by Mr. Bernstein, showing how, so much, went back to family roots, how so much that was once tried or rejected was turned to use again by a writer who never wasted anything. To some it was trivia. To others it



From "Thurber &amp; Company," Harper &amp; Row, 1966

Self-portrait, by James Thurber.

was the little alarms and diversions that make men kin. The second view is still persuasive, even though Thurber began rather pompously to say so himself.

Roderick Nordell is the Monitor's assistant chief editorial writer.

# Princes on horseback

Royalty on Horseback, by Judith Campbell. New York: Doubleday. \$12.95. London: Sidgwick & Jackson. 2.2.95.

Horse racing is said to be the sport of kings, but horse riding is the pleasure of the people. It is a different sort, this book provides a refreshing excursion into less frantic times.

Only during this century did horse riding become a truly popular pastime. Before that, it was largely confined to the very rich, or for purely military, commercial, or agricultural use. Queen Victoria popularized it, and it was George V and Edward VIII who brought the pleasure and the prestige of horse riding to the public at large. It was George V who began to ride publicly in Hyde Park's "Rotten Row," and this event is shown by some rare photographs in the book.

Like the long-bow of Merrie England, the horse changed the ability to wage war with devastating effect. But his book is less concerned with the function of warring kings and kingdoms than with the more well-known image of royalty riding, hunting, playing polo, and in more recent times, engaging in competition and show events.

— Roy Barnacle

## books

# Stevenson: the great exhilarator

Robert Louis Stevenson: A Biography, by James Pope Hennessy. New York: Simon and Schuster. \$9.95. London: Jonathan Cape. £5.

By Robert Nye

Stevenson's friend W. E. Henley defined him excellently in a sonnet:

A deal of Ariel, just a streak of Puck,  
Much Antony, of Hamlet most of all,  
And something of the Shorter-Catechist.

James Pope Hennessy neglects none of these categories in his biography of Robert Louis Stevenson. Ariel and Puck are well represented in his account of Stevenson's childhood, and in such definition as he offers (it is the book's weakest department) of the novels themselves. Antony, Hamlet, and the Shorter-Catechist can be found mostly in his analysis of the Stevenson marriage.

The formidable Fanny is not neglected. She was ten years older than Stevenson. She was American — "If you like the guich and the canyon you will like her," Henry James warned a visitor darkly. As for Stevenson himself: "I am damnably in love," he wrote, soon after meeting her, adding characteristically, "and a good deal in debt, and yours ever." It was with Fanny, in a rented cottage at Braemar, that he began "Treasure Island" — 15 chapters of it written in as many days. Then he stuck. But the book was finished in another 15-day bout at Davos.

The wife with a glance "like a loaded pistol" (Stevenson's own phrase) helped crucially also in the composition of "The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde." Stevenson dreamt the thing up to the first transformation of Jekyll into Hyde, spent three days writing furiously, then read the result to her. She said that he had botched a good allegory, made it sensational. Stevenson, enraged, stormed out; then returned, said she was right, and threw his 40,000-word draft into the fire. Whereupon he set to work for another three days and produced the story which pleased Fanny and the rest of the world — including Queen Victoria. This was not the only occasion on which he incurred a debt to his wife's unerring honesty and directness of speech.

It is James Pope Hennessy's achievement that he does not simplify a complicated man. Stevenson is presented here, panache and all, as "a major Romantic."

Rothschilds, however, is even less the style now than it could be said to have been in Stevenson's day, and this fact concerns his biographer less than it should — it was never Pope Hennessy's way to ask searching questions concerning the aesthetics of those he chose to biographize. What the book does demonstrate, copiously, is the extent to which the romantic legend of Stevenson's life obscured appreciation of his work after his death in Samoa. As Henry James once said, Stevenson's biography was his own worst enemy in the sense that he became "in some degree the victim of himself."

This book measures that degree. Retaining Stevenson's position to his romanticism, it fails to make any incisive or extended criticism of Stevenson's work — but then, as Nigel Nicolson notes in a sympathetic preface, Pope Hennessy would probably have been anxious to put this right had he not died before the book went to press. He could well be right in his overall opinion that Stevenson himself died precisely at that stage in his career where he was "passing from the phase of puppetmaster to that of true creator."

"The great exhilarator" — that is his final phrase for Stevenson. It is a good one, and it will stand also as epitaph and epitaph to Pope Hennessy's own efforts. In a busy life as a professional author he wrote several good biographies. This one is elegantly composed and every page bears the impress of a sensibility which has made itself thoroughly at home with its subject matter, this side of idolatry or self-identification.

Robert Nye is a poet, critic, and essayist who lives in Scotland.



# sports



Stealing a glimpse of a match at Forest Hills, New York

By a staff photographer

Tennis is on the upswing in the United States

## Europe's tennis decline: can it be reversed?

By John Allen May  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Behind all the color and the drama of this year's Wimbledon tournament has loomed a really serious question:

Can tennis ever come back to Britain and Europe? Return that is, to fulfill the role it once played and which, immensely magnified, it now plays in the United States?

I mean as a prime sport — a major spectator sport, a major participant sport, a major TV sport, a major commercial sport and, finally, as a major social influence?

For modern tennis in these senses is becoming an essentially American phenomenon.

It remains, of course, a national sport in Australia. But at the top level even most Australian tennis is played in the USA. Indeed if any player anywhere in the world is to make

European championships at Rome, Paris and Wimbledon.

But underneath this surface sparkle there is virtually no infrastructure. Even during Wimbledon, with tennis taking over much of British television, one can find empty courts in many localities nearby.

In a relative sense — although of course not absolutely — tennis now is in decline in Europe. Even in Communist countries, where great efforts are being made to popularize it, the game is not making anything like the headway it could.

Here in Britain there are two standard reasons given for this situation: the weather and taxes. It is true that Britain is not blessed with a Californian climate, and that British taxation is so fearsome that no world class sportsman can afford to continue living in Britain. But that is not a full answer. Not even for Britain and certainly not for the rest of Europe, or the rest of the world.

Billie Jean King thinks the answer is twofold: build more tennis courts for the masses and vastly increase prize money for tournaments.

But is it as simple as that? This is what world tennis authorities have been pondering as the drama of Wimbledon has unfolded.

Drama there has been in plenty.

Evonne Goolagong suddenly going off and getting married without even telling her mentor, Vic Edwards, then when she found he was hurt, healing what might have been a breach with a typically happy Goolagong gesture, waving and calling to him from the center court balcony as he walked by solemnly below.

Britain's Virginia Wade, whose tennis has shown a marked improvement this year, very nearly being put out in the second round but saving three match points against herself and finally winning the match with them.

Ken Rosewall, seeded No. 2, going out to a bounding Tony Roche and proving that computers don't know everything. This one did not know that Wimbledon is a very exacting tournament. Also perhaps that Ken's thoughts, now, are more on his worldwide coaching plans than on winning matches.

Mrs. King coming from behind to beat defending champion Chris Evert in an emotional semifinal match; then going on to win her sixth title in what she says will be her last singles appearance here.

And finally Arthur Ashe, climaxed his career with an upset victory over defending champion Jimmy Connors in the final.

But the real Wimbledon puzzle remains: How can tennis now be made to give to the rest of the world what it is beginning to give to America?



Virginia Wade

a career of tennis it is in America that he or she must do it. And this is true even for most of the major tennis stars so carefully nurtured in Communist countries.

It is in America that most of the technical development is going on, both in the playing of the game and in the matter of equipment. It is in America that the big indoor tennis complexes are being built, and that the tennis court is becoming almost as necessary, an adjunct to the home as the pool and the patio. It is only America that can boast something like 25 million regular tennis players.

The rest of the world is linked in the Grand Prix events, which take the stars around the world from Norway to Indonesia to Japan and back, and also through the three main

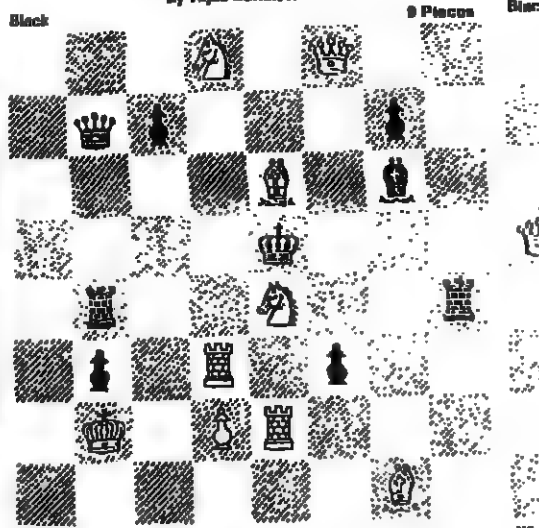
## chess

By Frederick R. Chevalier

Prepared for The Christian Science Monitor

### Problem No. 6709

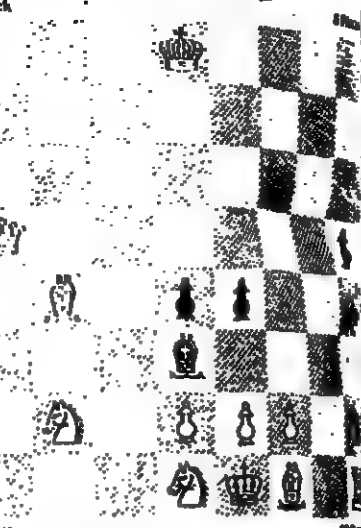
By Volga Benkovic



White to play and mate in two.  
(First prize, Main-Post, 1955.)

### Problem No. 6710

By Vladimir Pavlov

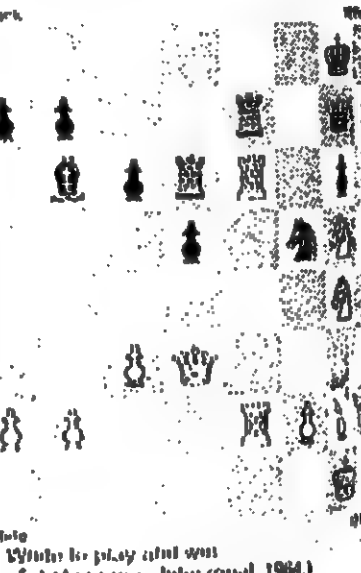


White to play and mate in three.  
(First prize, Olympic Tourney, 1956.)

### Solutions to Problems

No. 6707. Q-K5  
No. 6708. 1 Kt-Q6 threatens 2 Kt-K4  
If 1... R-K5; 2 Kt-B5ch  
If 1... B-K5; 2 Kt-B4ch  
If 1... R-Q5; 2 R-K5ch  
End-Game No. 2208. White wins. 1 R-B8. R-R; 2 B-K15. Resigns. If 1... R-R; 2 QxRch. K-R7; 3 Q-B2ch, etc.

### End-Game No. 2209



White to play and win.  
(Ed. Chevalier, International, 1964.)

### Tal Game Collection

Mikhail Tal is one of the world's most aggressive grandmasters. At twenty-five he briefly held the world championship title, defeating Botvinnik by five points in 1961. As recently as last year he again tied for the Soviet championship in any selection of games from a tournament in which he took part; the reader inevitably looks at his games first.

New English writer Bernard Caffery has put together "Tal's 100 Best Games," first published by Pinter (hard-cover, \$9.95). These games, from the period 1961-1973, they are interestingly annotated with many diagrams, introductory chapters tell of Tal's personal development as a chess genius, and his total devotion to the game.

The game below won for Tal a prize for "the best attack played in the style of Alekhine." The tournament was in Moscow in 1961.

### French Defense

White	Black	White	Black
1 P-K4	P-K3	11 P-B	QxP
2 P-Q4	P-Q4	12 K-B5	P-K1
3 Kt-Q2	P-QB4	13 K-Kch	B-K3
4 Kt-B3	Kt-QB3	14 Q-Q5	P-QR3
5 B-K15	Q-P4	15 B-Q2	QxP
6 Kt-P	B-Q2	16 B-K4	PxR
7 B-K15	Q-B4ch	17 Q-B8ch	K-Q2
8 Kt-B3	P-P	18 Kt-Qch	K-B2
9 Kt-P	B-K15	19 QxR	Resigns
10 Q-O	BxK1		

### Chess in a Vineyard

The third annual Paul Masson chess championships will be held in the Paul Masson Mountain Vineyard, near San Jose, California, on July 19-20. Players will be grouped according to their ratings, Master, Expert, A through E, and unrated. Four or five round Swiss events are scheduled with a projected \$10,000 prize fund. The top for the masters is \$1,500, with generous awards to all classes of player.

Details may be secured from Martin E. Morrison, 1000 E. 14th St., San Jose, Calif. 95128, who is chief director. Last year's top players competed in the tournament.

### Larsen Again at the Top

The Danish grandmaster Bent Larsen has shown his lightning style by winning the fourth annual Chess. Spain tournament in February. This event included eight top masters in spite of two losses to his opponent, he has won his first two games in the tournament. He is a half-point in front of the young Swedish grandmaster, and Larsen is a half-point ahead of the Spanish grandmaster, and Larsen is a half-point ahead of the Spanish grandmaster, and Larsen is a half-point ahead of the Spanish grandmaster.

### Wing Game

White	Black	White	Black
1 Kt-KB3	P-K3	17 K-B3	P-K3
2 P-QK13	P-K3	18 Q-Q4	P-K3
3 B-K12	P-QK13	19 Q-Q4	P-K3
4 P-K13	B-K2	20 P-K4	P-K3
5 B-K12	Q-Q4	21 P-P	P-K3
6 P-B4	Q-K2	22 Kt-Q5	P-K3
7 Q-O	B-O3	23 Kt-K4	P-K3
8 Kt-B3	O-O	24 P-K4	P-K3
9 O-B2	P-QR3	25 R-B	P-K3
10 P-P	P-P	26 Kt-K4	P-K3
11 P-Q3	R-K	27 Kt-K4	P-K3
12 Kt-K	Kt-B4	28 Kt-K4	P-K3
13 Q-R-Q	Q-Q2	29 B-Q4	P-K3
14 P-K3	Q-R-Q	30 Q-B3ch	P-K3
15 Kt-K2	Kt-K5	31 P-K5	P-K3
16 P-KR3	Kt-R3		

## Tubby



By Guernsey Le Pen



Double desk with two low chests, two support legs, and a table top

## Children's furniture that grows

By Marilyn Hoffman  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

The Finns care about kids. They think they deserve a well-designed little world of their own that really works for them. They feel their furniture should grow with them, from toddler through teen-age and stages.

One such collection is called Muurame. It is made in Lahti, Finland, by a 60-year-old company that was established by Kalle Wilkman and is now run by his sons. The original old cabinetmaking traditions per-

sist, but the ultra-modern factory today prides itself on industrial manufacturing with special emphasis on quality.

The designer is Pirkko Stenroos. Her very first pieces were marketed about 20 years ago. Each year since, she has refined and added to her basic designs.

Each piece in the group can work well alone, or in combination with other pieces. Although a new module width was adopted this spring, any new chest can still be used with any old chest, since depth and height remain unchanged.

Flexibility is the key word. Low-module storage chests can be used as table bases or lined up against a wall and cushioned to serve as seating, as well.

Four two-drawer chests form a useful low table, to which wheels can be easily attached if desired. A handy drawer on wheels, to hold extra bedding, slips under the bed during the day. If the customer wants to stack chests one on top of the other, he does not have to buy unnecessary bases.

If he wants to change the arrangement later, he can buy needed bases separately. He can buy, optionally, deep file drawers or record racks for drawers. New bookcases, delivered knocked-down, can be assembled without any tools. Cabinets can be added at any later time, and hung without the use of any tools.

Tables can easily grow from pre-school size to adult level by means of a quick change of support legs. A bench-right table, by a simple flip-over, can be a bench for a toddler, or a table for a teen-ager.

The same desk or table top, covered with durable white plastic, can advance as a pre-school play surface to a high school student's drafting table. A double desk, big enough for train or car-track, can be assembled from two low chests, two low support legs, and one double table top.

It is the Finns themselves who benefit most from the Muurame product; they consume 70 percent. The other 30 percent is exported chiefly to the United States, Canada, and Sweden. Design. Research stores and the dozen Children's Workshop stores are the most important East Coast outlets.

# home/education

## How an American school stopped vandalism

By Robert P. Hey  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Riverdale, Maryland  
Five years ago vandals broke into the Riverdale Elementary School half a dozen times during the school year, and broke school windows almost every weekend.

Now the level of vandalism here is near zero. Window panes remain whole, and the break-ins have ended. "It's as if an invisible moat surrounds the school," says principal Herman Schiemer. Additionally, there is little in school violence — although some 500 pupils come from the neighborhood — white, ethnic, low-income, low-adult educational level, and the remaining 300 are bused from nearby Seat Pleasant — all black and low income.

Riverdale's success flouts the national trend. The nationwide cost of vandalism and violence is estimated at \$500 million annually, according to a special study of the Senate juvenile delinquency subcommittee. Public opinion polls in some communities show parents consider discipline, school violence, and vandalism as their schools' top problems.

From now through October the Senate subcommittee is probing this whole issue. One thing Indiana's Sen. Birch Bayh, subcommittee chairman, wants to learn is whether strict discipline — classroom repression and school expulsion — helps solve the problem — or makes it worse.

Riverdale's approach was a blend of reasoning, individual attention, and human love, says Mr. Schiemer. Only as a last resort is discipline used. Since taking over five years ago "I've only suspended two kids," he says.

Subcommittee investigators tentatively think harsh discipline counterproductive. They are looking for success stories from schools using other means.

When he has had to be stern with a pupil Mr. Schiemer makes a point to seek him out at least once later in the day to speak kindly to him — so that the child understands he is loved although his actions have been disapproved of.

Coupled with the school's reaching out to parents and community, this approach gives pupils such a good feeling about the school that they protect rather than vandalize it. Kindness, in addition, also unlocks the doors of learning for many youngsters.

At the core of the Schiemer approach, is the necessity of building one-to-one relationships between a teacher and every child in his class. It takes a long while and with some children must be done outside the classroom: "I tell my teachers," Mr. Schiemer says, "that most children you can 'reach' at school — but some you never can. You have to get to know them outside school."

Thus teachers take a pupil or two to lunch, to a movie, to sleep overnight at their homes, or for the weekend. One young teacher took all the boys in her class to a movie; then invited all the girls to sleep overnight. "They slept up on the third floor," her husband came up and told ghost stories, and they had a great time."

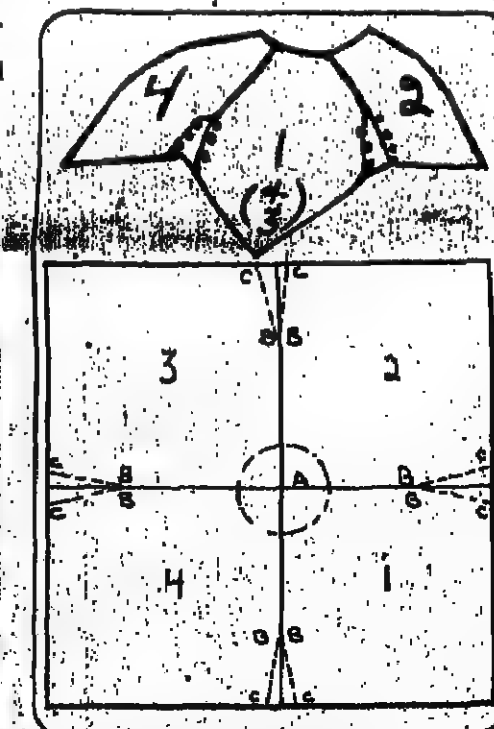
Other educators in the area laud the dedication of the school's faculty.

Dr. Harold C. Lyon, head of the federal government's Office of Gifted and Talented Children, once surveyed successful Americans to see if it could be determined what factors contributed to their success. One thread ran throughout, he found: in every person's case, during childhood some adult had stepped out of his formal role, as teacher for example, and had known and related to the child as a friend. This special attention, Dr. Lyon believes, is a key to successful teaching.

## Directions for making a blouse

Summertime is open season for home sewers. The squared-off blouse is an original design by Stevens made here in Logan Tex coordinated fabric. It also could be made in two different solid colors. Or four. Each square requires 5/8 yard of fabric or 1 1/4 yards in all. Stevens shares the easy-to-make, one-size-fits-all pattern with Monitor readers:

- Cut pieces of fabric into four 22-inch squares, using 44/45-inch fabric.
- Mark them as shown on chart. Stitching lines B and C are about seven inches long.
- Sew all four squares together, connecting between A and B, and leaving open from B to C.
- Cut out neckline, using 5/4 inch radius. Finish with bias tape.
- Fold into half, right sides of sections 1 and 3 together, making a triangle.



Square-cut blouse to make at home

One size fits all

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# French/German

## Les femmes et le monde

« Le simple fait que tant de femmes se soient réunies en un groupement de telle importance nous assurera le pouvoir », déclara une déléguée à la Conférence internationale de l'Année de la femme qui termina ses travaux il y a deux semaines à Mexico. Et c'est bien ainsi.

Les six mille femmes de toutes les parties du monde qui prirent part à la réunion tenue sous les auspices des Nations Unies et à la « Tribune » non officielle adjacente apportèrent leurs propres points de vue des améliorations nécessaires au rôle de la femme dans la société. Cette participation s'étendait des déléguées du « tiers-monde » revenant d'un « nouvel ordre économique » jusqu'aux féministes américaines insistant sur la libération de la femme. Ce qui arriva fut donc un reflet des Nations Unies elles-mêmes : l'apparition fréquente de désordre et de manque de progrès avec des rencontres dans les couloirs, apprenant à se connaître les uns les autres et à reconnaître les soucis de chacun.

Le « plan mondial d'action » de dix ans, adopté par les membres de l'ONU reconnaît à juste titre la nécessité d'améliorer le sort des femmes pauvres dans les pays en voie de développement tout en luttant pour leur égalité en matière de politique, d'instruction et d'emploi. Des millions de femmes font face à des taux de mortalité plus élevés, à une diminution de denrées alimentaires durant les périodes de pénurie et à une qualité de soins médicaux inférieure comparativement à ceux concernant les hommes ; pour elles, la lutte sur le plan politique semble un luxe qui doit céder sa place à celle pour la survie.

Des représentants de pays mieux développés le reconnaissent, ainsi que le fait

que pour de nombreuses femmes tout emploi en vaut la peine et le développement de la famille est ce qu'il y a de plus important. Barbara Mikulski, membre du Conseil municipal de Baltimore, déclara récemment à un groupe de New Yorkaises que si les féministes veulent réussir il faut qu'elles « arrêtent de parler de la libération de la femme » et commencent à parler des droits de la femme. Lors de la réunion préparatoire politique nationale des femmes, on reconnut qu'il ne pouvait être question d'abattre les barrières des sexes sans se préoccuper des pauvres.

La leçon pour les femmes du tiers-monde réside dans le fait que le statut économique des Américaines ne doit pas être leur seul but. La déléguée de la Nouvelle-Zélande, qui exprima des craintes que dans le cadre du plan adopté par l'ONU « les femmes deviennent des dents plus efficaces dans une machine construite, par les hommes », percuta à juste titre la nécessité importante de réaliser l'égalité politique et sociale également, qui, il faut l'espérer, deviendra bientôt une réalité aux États-Unis, grâce à l'adoption de l'amendement dans la Constitution sur l'égalité des droits.

Le succès réel du rassemblement de Mexico trouvera sa réalisation dans la poursuite de la « conscience grandissante » et dans l'action politique qui doit s'ensuivre.

Cette conférence, comme toutes les conférences de l'ONU a été désorganisée », déclara Barbara White, déléguée des États-Unis. « Mais ce n'est pas ce qui importe ici. Ce qui importe c'est une détermination au niveau mondial aux termes de laquelle les femmes doivent être libres et participantes à part entière dans leur société. Et cela c'est révolutionnaire. »

## Die Rechte der Frau

« Die bloße Tatsache, daß so viele Frauen sich hier versammelt haben, wird uns Macht geben », sagte eine Delegierte auf der internationalen Konferenz im Jahr der Frau, die kürzlich in Mexico City zu Ende ging. Und das zu Recht.

Die 6000 Frauen aus aller Welt, die das von den Vereinten Nationen veranstaltete Treffen und die inoffizielle «Tribüne» nahebei besuchten, brachten ihre eigenen Vorstellungen darüber mit, was erforderlich ist, um die Rolle der Frau in der menschlichen Gesellschaft zu verbessern. Die Skala der Auffassungen reichte von den Delegierten der « dritten Welt », die eine « neue Wirtschaftsordnung » forderten, bis zu den amerikanischen Feministen, die sich für die Befreiung der Frau einsetzten. Was geschah, war ein Spiegelbild der UN selbst: häufiges Durcheinander und Mangel an Fortschritt, während man sich hinter dem Kulisse der Macht bekannt machte und die Sorgen der anderen kenneilerte.

In dem auf 10 Jahre betitelten « Weltaktionsplan » der von den Teilnehmern der UN-Konferenz angenommen wurde, wird zu Recht anerkannt, daß es notwendig ist, das Los der Armen unter den Frauen der Entwicklungsländer zu verbessern und gleichzeitig nach Gleichheit in der Politik, im Bereich des Bildungswesens und im Berufsleben zu streben. Im Vergleich zu den Männern haben Millionen von Frauen eine höhere Sterblichkeitsziffer, weniger zu essen in Zeiten von Lebensmittelknappheit und eine schlechtere Gesundheitsfürsorge. Für sie ist politischer Kampf ein Luxus, der hinter dem Kampf ums Überleben zurücktreten muß.

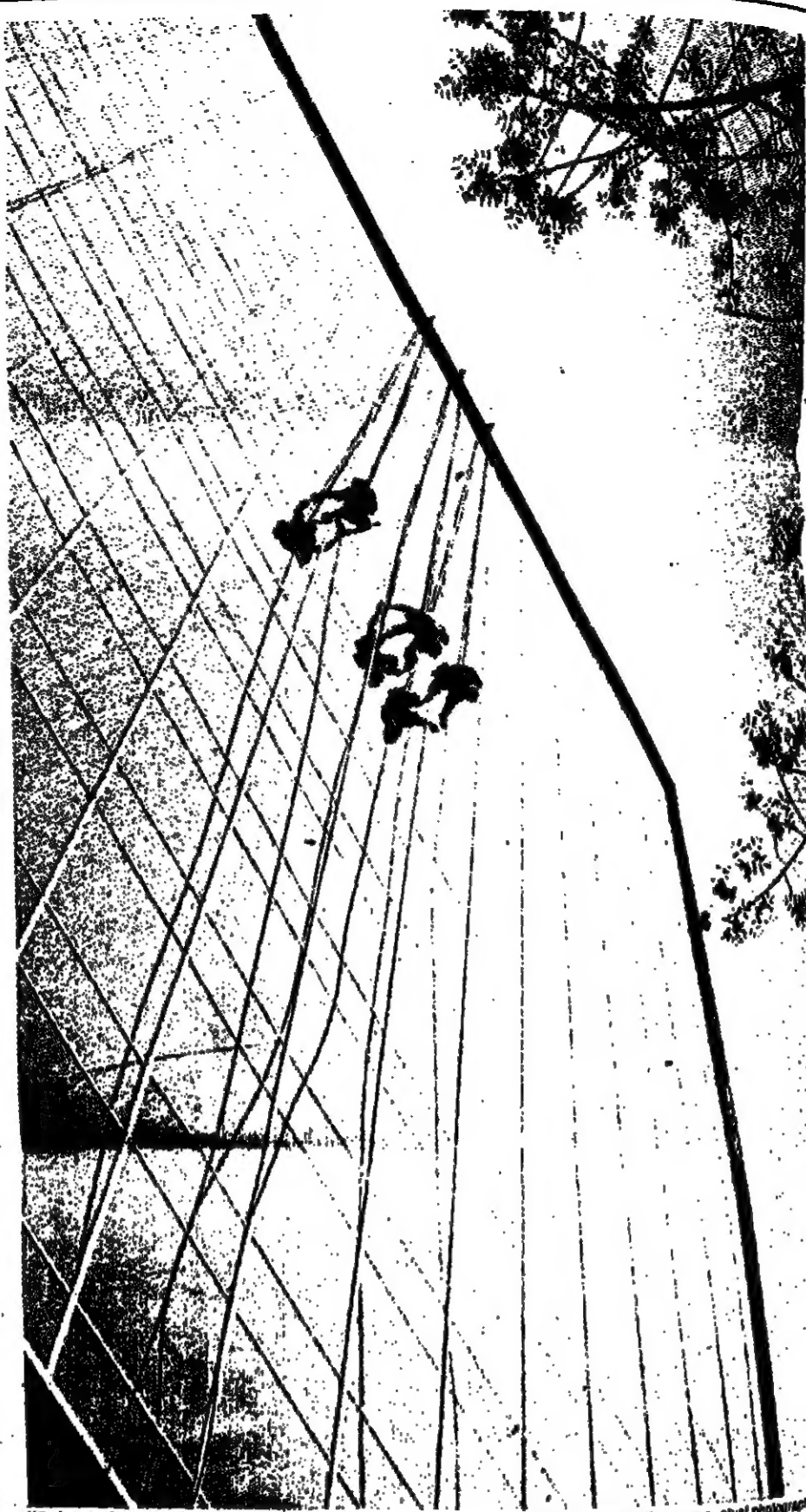
Die Vertreter aus den besser gestellten Ländern erkannten das, was auch die Tatsache, daß für viele Frauen jede Arbeit der Mühe wert ist und daß die

Sorge um die Familie an erster Stelle stehen muß. Barbara Mikulski, ein Mitglied des Stadtrates von Baltimore, sagte vor kurzem zu einer Gruppe von Frauen in New York, daß die Feministen, wenn sie Erfolg haben wollten, aufhören müßten, über die Befreiung der Frau zu reden, und anfangen, über die Rechte der Frau zu sprechen. Der Erkenntnis, daß der Durchbruch der weiblichen Geschlechter auflegten Schranken von der Sorge um die Armen begleitet sein müsse, wurde kürzlich auf der Versammlung der weiblichen politischen Führer Amerikas Ausdruck gegeben.

Die Lehre für die Frauen aus der dritten Welt besteht darin, daß es nicht ihr einziges Ziel sein sollte, den wirtschaftlichen Status der Amerikaner zu erlangen. Die Delegierte aus Neuseeland, die ihre Befürchtungen laut werden ließ, daß nach dem von der UN-Konferenz akzeptierten Plan, die Welt in drei Zonen unterteilt werden könnte, ganz richtig, daß es unbedingt notwendig ist, sowohl politische als auch soziale Gleichheit zu erlangen, was wie zu hoffen ist — in den Vereinigten Staaten durch den Verfassungszusatz über die Rechtsgleichheit der Frau bald erreicht sein wird.

Der eigentliche Erfolg der Tagung in Mexico City muß nicht noch in fortgesetzter « Hebung des Bewusstseins » und den daraus folgenden politischen Aktionen liegen.

Auf dieser Konferenz, wie auf allen UN-Konferenzen, herrschte großes Durcheinander », sagte die amerikanische Delegierte Barbara White. « Doch das ist nicht das Entscheidende. Was zählt, ist die weltweite Entschlossenheit, daß die Frauen freie und gleichberechtigte Partner in ihrer jeweiligen Gesellschaftsordnung sein sollten. Und das ist revolutionär. »



A scene in Mexico City where women held their conference

## Women and the world

"The mere fact that so many women got together in such a big group will bring us power," said a delegate to the International Women's Year Conference that concluded this week in Mexico City. And rightly so.

The 6,000 women from around the world who attended the United Nations-sponsored meeting and unofficial "Tribune" nearby brought with them their own perceptions of improvements needed in women's role in society. This was a "third-world" delegates calling for a "new economic order" to American feminists stressing women's liberation. What occurred thus was a reflection of the UN itself: the frequent appearance of disorder and lack of progress with much behind-the-scenes getting to know one another and recognition of each other's concerns.

The 10-year "world plan of action" adopted by the UN conference correctly recognizes the need to improve the lot of poor women in developing countries while striving for equality in politics, education, and employment. Millions of women face higher mortality rates, less food during shortages, and inferior health care compared with men; for them, political struggle seems a luxury that must take second place to survival.

Representatives from better developed countries recognized this as well as the fact that for many women any job is worthwhile and the development of family must be

paramount. Baltimore City Council member Barbara Mikulski told a group of New York women recently that if feminists are to succeed, they must "stop talking about women's liberation and start talking about women's rights." The recognition that breaking the bars of sexism must be accompanied by concern for the poor was expressed at the National Women's Political Caucus convention last week.

The lesson for third-world women is that the economic status of Americans should not be their only goal. The New Zealand delegate who expressed fear that under the plan adopted by the UN conference "women will become more effective cogs in a man-made machine" rightly perceived the urgent need for political and social equality as well, hopefully to be achieved soon in the U.S. through adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution.

The real success of the Mexico City gathering remains to be fulfilled in the continuing "consciousness raising" and political action that must ensue.

"This conference, like all UN conferences, has been disorganized," said U.S. delegate Barbara White. "But that isn't what matters here. What matters is a worldwide determination that women shall be free and equal participants in their societies. And that is revolutionary."

## L'Amour divin apporte la guérison

Dans la Bible, Dieu nous fait cette promesse : « Je te guérirai, je panserai tes plaies. »

Est-ce que vous aussi, vous désirez ardemment avoir l'assurance que Dieu prend soin de vous et vous guérit ? Il faut peut-être que vous parveniez à comprendre Dieu d'une manière plus profonde et plus complète. Science et Santé avec la Clef des Ecritures est le livre qui peut vous aider. C'est un livre qui met en lumière la bonté, le pouvoir et l'amour toujours présents de Dieu.

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[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]  
Traduction de l'article religieux paraissant en anglais sur la page The Home Forum  
(une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine)

## Notre rôle unique

Dieu est l'Amour divin et Il ne nous fait pas errer dans un espace vide qui n'a pas de sens. Chacun de nous a un rôle unique dans le plan divin. Le bonheur se manifeste lorsque nous sommes créés par Dieu et que Son dessein pour nous est entièrement bon.

Christ Jésus nous a montré comment nous identifier avec l'Amour divin — en reconnaissant l'amour que Dieu nous porte et en nous aimant les uns les autres. Mais cela signifie-t-il que le fait de simplement accomplir de bonnes œuvres autour de soi résoudra le problème de notre identité ? Non. Le commandement de Jésus a une signification beaucoup plus profonde.

La Science Chrétienne a été découverte et fondée par Mary Baker Eddy, qui consacra toute sa vie à étudier la Bible pour en retirer sa signification spirituelle plus profonde. Elle écrit :

« Le bonheur consiste à être bon et à faire le bien ; seul ce que Dieu donne et ce qu'Il nous accorde le droit de donner à nous-mêmes et à autrui, apporte le bonheur : le mérite dont on est conscient rassais le cœur affamé et rien autre ne peut le faire. »

La Science Chrétienne peut nous aider à devenir conscients de notre vraie valeur. Elle commence par faire ressortir que selon la Bible nous sommes l'image de Dieu, le bien, qui est l'Esprit divin ; donc, en réalité, notre véritable nature doit être spirituelle et bonne.

Cette compréhension de l'homme en tant que travail individuel à accomplir, des ressources individuelles pour parvenir à cette activité, et des récompenses que chacun peut reconnaître. Nous avons le droit divin de revendiquer notre unité parfaite avec Dieu et de ressentir la tendre assurance que nous avons notre propre place dans Son plan. Cette place et ce but deviennent apparents lorsque nous échangeons une image mortelle, limitée de nous-mêmes contre un concept spirituel. Vous et moi en fait nous nous composons de glorieuses qualités spirituelles de Dieu — la joie, l'intelligence, l'amour, l'intégrité, pour n'en nommer que quelques-unes. En comprenant cela, nous pouvons commencer à nous estimer nous-mêmes ainsi que notre but divin.

L'appréciation juste avec laquelle nous nous estimons nous aide à faire

de chacun de nous. Cela signifie qu'il y a pour chacun un travail individuel à accomplir, des ressources individuelles pour parvenir à cette activité, et des récompenses que chacun peut reconnaître. Nous avons le droit divin de revendiquer notre unité parfaite avec Dieu et de ressentir la tendre assurance que nous avons notre propre place dans Son plan. Cette place et ce but deviennent apparents lorsque nous échangeons une image mortelle, limitée de nous-mêmes contre un concept spirituel. Vous et moi en fait nous nous composons de glorieuses qualités spirituelles de Dieu — la joie, l'intelligence, l'amour, l'intégrité, pour n'en nommer que quelques-unes. En comprenant cela, nous pouvons commencer à nous estimer nous-mêmes ainsi que notre but divin.

L'appréciation juste avec laquelle nous nous estimons nous aide à faire

de même envers les autres. Nous commençons à voir nos collègues et les membres de notre famille en tant que spirituels, exprimant les qualités semblables à la nature de Dieu. Sous ce jour-là, nous pouvons trouver notre véritable identité spirituelle et en même temps un modèle de vie satisfaisant.

1 Voir Matthieu 22:35-40 : « Message to The Mother Church for 1902, p. 17 ; « Science et Santé avec la Clef des Ecritures, p. 475.

« Christian Science » prononce « Christian Science »  
La traduction française du livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, « Science et Santé avec la Clef des Ecritures », de Mary Baker Eddy, existe avec le texte anglais en regard. On peut l'acheter dans les Salles de Lecture de la Science Chrétienne ou le commander à Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englisch erscheinenden religiösen Artikels  
(Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich)

## Unsere einzigartige Rolle

Gott ist göttliche Liebe, und Er läßt uns nicht in einem bedeutungslosen Vakuum umherwandern. Jeder von uns hat eine einzigartige Rolle in dem göttlichen Plan. Wir sind glücklich, wenn wir erkennen, daß wir von Gott erschaffen sind und daß Sein Plan nur Gutes für uns vorsieht.

Christus Jesus zeigte uns, wie wir uns mit der göttlichen Liebe identifizieren können — indem wir erkennen, daß Gott uns liebt, und uns untereinander lieben. Aber heißt das, daß wir das Problem unserer Identität lösen, wenn wir lediglich umhergehen und gute Werke tun? Nein. Jesu Gebot bedeutet weit mehr als das.

Die Christliche Wissenschaft wurde von Mary Baker Eddy entdeckt und gegründet; sie befaßt sich mit dem Leben lang mit der tieferen, geistigen Bedeutung der Bibel. Sie schreibt: « Glück besteht darin, gut zu sein und Gutes zu tun; nur was Gott gibt und was wir uns selbst und anderen durch Seinen Reichtum geben, verleiht Glückseligkeit. Bewußt sein, daß das hungrige Herz, und nichts anderes vermag es. »

Die Christliche Wissenschaft kann uns helfen, uns unseres wahren Wertes bewußt zu werden. Sie beginnt damit, daß sie uns zeigt, daß wir, der Bibel gemäß, das Ebenbild Gottes, des Guten, sind, und Er ist göttlicher Geist; in Wirklichkeit muß also unser wirkliches Wesen geistig und gut sein. Dieses Verständnis vom Menschen als Gottes Widerspiegelung ist ein sehr wichtiger Punkt in der Christlichen Wissenschaft. Wir lernen, daß ein materielles und sterbliches Bild vom Menschen tatsächlich nur eine Illusion ist, die uns durch einen begrenzten Begriff von Gott aufgedrängt wird.

Wenn wir beginnen, bis zu einem gewissen Grade die unendliche Gegenwart Gottes und Seine alles umfängende Liebe, allerbare Intelligenz, Macht und Substanz zu erfassen, beginnen Materie und Sterblichkeit ihren Anspruch auf Macht und sogar auf Wirklichkeit zu verlieren. Ja, wenn wir den Menschen als den Ausdruck der schöpferischen Tätigkeit Gottes sehen, können wir verstehen, daß wir selbst völlig aus geistigen Ideen bestehen.

Mrs. Eddy sagt vom Menschen: « Er ist die zusammengesetzte Idee Gottes und schließt alle richtigen Ideen in sich. » Dieses von Gott erschaffene Wesen schließt die Individualität eines jeden von uns ein. Das heißt, daß es für jeden von uns individuelle Arbeit zu tun gibt, daß für jene Tätigkeit besonders vorgesehen ist und daß uns Früchte daraus erwachsen, die jeder von uns erkennen kann. Wir haben das göttliche Recht, unsere vollkommene Einheit mit Gott zu beah-

sprechen und die wohlthuende Gewißheit zu spüren, daß wir unseren eigenen Platz in Seinem Plan haben. Dieser Platz und dieser Plan werden für uns sichtbar, wenn wir ein endliches, sterbliches Bild von uns selbst gegen den geistigen Begriff eintauschen. Sie und ich bestehen tatsächlich aus den herrlichen geistigen Eigenschaften Gottes — aus Freude, Intelligenz, Liebe, Vollkommenheit, um nur einige zu nennen. In dem Maße, wie wir diesen festhalten, beginnen wir, uns selbst und unseren göttlichen Zweck zu schätzen.

Wenn wir uns selbst richtig einschätzen, hilft uns dies, andere ebenso einzuschätzen. Wir beginnen dann, unsere Bekannten und Angehörigen als geistig, als den Ausdruck göttlicher

licher Eigenschaften zu sehen. In diesem Licht können wir unsere wirkliche geistige Identität und mit ihr eine zufriedenstellende Lebensweise finden.

1 Siehe Matthäus 22:35-40 : « Message to The Mother Church for 1902, S. 17 ; « Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift, S. 475.

« Christian Science » spricht: « Kräfte des Geistes »  
Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, « Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift » von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite erhältlich. Das Buch kann in den Lesesälen der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder von Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Ausführlich über andere christlich-wissenschaftliche Schriften in deutscher Sprache erstellt auf Anfrage der Verlag, The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.



Cooley Square fountain, Boston

How to keep cool in the city





Young Scholar Reading Cicero. 15th century. Fresco by Vincenzo Foppa

## Embroidery

Amid the ordered orb of shouts and luctets,  
This scholar restores Cicero's embroidery.  
From its vellum tomb to a sympathetic station.  
Mentally he decorates the margins,  
With combats, courantes and ducal sneezes.  
Concluding in an arabesque of scorpions,  
Around the Keeper of the Giraffe,  
Whose powdered bat,  
Failed to save the duke's tallest servant.

David Andres Bershtein

## Just child's play

I am not one of those adults who believes much in the innocence of small children. And when it comes to their ignorance, I'm even less persuaded. Remember that Tom Lehrer song about what used to be known as "the new math"? "It's so simple, so very simple/ That only a child can do it!"

I think of driving the farmer's tractor. The other night I got it into a magnificently inextricable skid in the mud. Couldn't go backwards or forwards. Stuck. A small boy, who had been sitting on the seat and peering out, He wore a smile of indescribable cunning.

In matters of childhood ignorance, appearance is undoubtedly the Great Deceiver. Take Tamsin. Or, more accurately, be taken by Tamsin. For a ride, most likely; she is little enough, and looks innocent, and you wouldn't think she knows much yet. But just play "Pelmanism" with her: that's all. Or "Beg-o-my-neighbor."

"You know how to play Pelmanism," she says, as if uncertain how well I have been brought up. After all I'm only a visitor.

"Of course," I answer, already in my guard. "Right. Let's play 'Beggar-my-neighbor.'" She delivers this non sequitur straight from the hip as if it were a sequitur. And who am I to judge? Any minute now she may stand on her head, and I can't do that to save my life.

We divide the pack. Or rather she does. Not by placing two halves side by side and adjusting a little. Oh no. By counting them out. Eventually she is satisfied that we each have exactly the same number.

Play begins. She takes my knife of hearts. She removes my king of clubs. She bags my queen of clubs. My ace of spades is purloined with a sweep of the hand. Along with these significant figures from my hand she clears away an "unfold number" of "minor figures. Another queen; plus half a dozen oddments and a knave, bite the dust. Away goes a further ace — and a king. My pile decreases while her pile increases. A couple of minutes more and she's cleaned the board.

So much for beggars. So much for neighbors. "How about another?" I hazard, challenged. But the little girl's red lips are set in a grimace, having

none of that kind of thing. Her face implies: "You lost. I won. No redress."

"Now Pairs!" she announces. "You mean Pelmanism." "I try to assert a little adult dominance."

"No I don't. I mean Pairs." So the cards are spread all over the carpet, upside down.

"There," she says. "You start." I say. This is pure altruism on my part — oh, and of course, a little bit of the superiority of age and skill: this game, at least, I am good at. In fact (without wanting to boast) I've rarely, if ever, lost it. I have an excellent visual memory, you see. So it's only fair to let my opponent kick off.

And she starts badly. I find three or four pairs before she finds one. Then she narrowly misses a particularly easy pair. "Go on," I say, all kindness, "have another go!"

She finds the pair. Then another. And another. I miss three; she finds two more pairs. The game runs lopsidedly until there are only about five or six pairs left. It is Tamsin's turn. One pair right. Two . . . Three . . .

She picks them all correctly, puts them in a tidy pile, and proceeds with patient deliberation to count and systematically the spoils of her undoubted victory. She doesn't count them quickly in pairs. She counts them one after the other . . . with relish . . . Slowly.

At last she says, "How many've you got?" I tell her. Pause. (To rub it in.)

Then — "I've got more than you. I've got seventeen. That's more than you've got. Isn't it?"

Yes, ma'am. That's more than I've got. So much for lambs in spring and all that. (And if you don't believe me, try playing her brother, who is not so much bigger: "Mastermind.")

Christopher Andrew

## My son, age nine,

is on the telephone.  
He dials a number,  
speaks with a friend about the speed of light,  
and then, abrupt, hangs up.  
No innuendos complicate his life.  
He watches television,  
studies, feeds his cat,  
eats pretzels,  
plays a game of chess,  
laughs, tells a riddle,  
asks "What time will Dad be home tonight?"  
He is so lean and quick and light,  
who runs like water through my life,  
these clear, uncluttered years  
flowing, like some small mountain stream,  
toward its predestined river.

Every day  
I try to practice  
letting go.

Joan Stern

## You can go home again

June is the month of roses, bird calls, weddings, and reunions. I seldom let June pass without my going back to the university where for many years I taught the young when they were not teaching me. Perhaps I should say while they were teaching me.

Dr. Samuel Johnson once said that a man must keep his friendships in good repair or he will one day find himself alone in the world. A college reunion is an occasion for the repairing and the renewing of friendships. It is the springtime of the human spirit. Often, conversing with persons who had been students of mine in the gone green years, I have the sense that there has been no break in the continuity of thought and feeling, merely an interruption.

Warmed and refreshed by memories of the reunion from which I have just returned, sitting here under a tree my father planted years ago, sitting here listening to the gentle eternal voice of a passing brook, I realize that what is said when persons long separated come together again is not of first importance; but the revitalizing of human relationships is.

They say you can't go home again. But of course that is not so. You can go home again, but you can't stay. A reunion is, in part, a journey into the past. And a journey into the past is not a bad thing so long as you don't get stuck there, so long as you don't try to substitute the past for the present. That is what Justice Shallow did, as readers of Shakespeare will remember. Shallow spent all his time (in *Henry IV*, part 2) polishing memories, trying to improve the past by dressing it in fancy clothes it had never worn. Old Jack Falstaff, on the other hand, if he did venture into the past to hear the chiming at midnight once again, never gave up living vividly in the present. One who lives vividly in the present can revisit the past without becoming entrapped by it.

Sitting here, remembering events of the past week, recalling how little rivulets of thought and feeling merged, as it were, into one great stream of consciousness, I ponder the old philosophical problem of permanence and change. But I have no time to go into that now. Something — the voice of the brook, perhaps — tells me to take my typewriter to my study and come back out of doors to plant a young tree.

Russell Speare

## The Monitor's religious article

## Our unique role

God is divine Love, and He does not have us wander about in a meaningless vacuum. Each of us has a unique role in the divine plan. Happiness starts by knowing that we are created by God and that His purpose for us is wholly good.

Christ Jesus showed us how to identify with divine Love — by recognizing God's love for us and by loving one another.\* But does this mean that just going around doing good works will solve our identity problem? No. Jesus' command goes much deeper than that.

Christian Science was discovered and founded by Mary Baker Eddy, who spent a lifetime studying the Bible in its deeper, spiritual meaning. She writes, "Happiness consists in being and in doing good; only what God gives, and what we give ourselves and others through His tenure, confers happiness: conscious worth satisfies the hungry heart, and nothing else can."\*\*

Christian Science can help us become conscious of our true worth. It starts by pointing out that according to the Bible we are the image of God, good, who is divine Spirit; so, in reality, our real nature must be spiritual and good. This understanding of man as God's reflection is a very important point in Christian Science. We learn that a material and mortal picture of man is really an illusion imposed by a limited concept of God.

As we begin to comprehend in a degree the infinite presence of God and His all-embracing love, supreme Intelligence, power, and substance, matter and mortality begin to lose their claim to power or even reality. In fact, as we see man as the expression of God's creative activity, we can understand ourselves as wholly made up of spiritual ideas.

Mrs. Eddy says of man, "He is the compound idea of God, including all right ideas."† This God-created nature includes the individuality of each of us. It means there is individual work for each one to do, individual supply for that activity, and rewards that each one can recognize. We have a divine right to claim our perfect unity with God and to feel the warm assurance of our own place in His plan. This place and purpose become apparent as we exchange a limited, mortal picture of ourselves for the spiritual concept. You and I actually consist of the glorious spiritual qualities of God — joy, intelligence, love, completeness, to name only a few. As we know this, we can begin to value ourselves and our divine purpose.

The proper estimate of ourselves helps us to value others in the same way. We begin to see our associates and members of our family as spiritual, expressing Godlike qualities. In this light we can find our real spiritual identity and with it a satisfying pattern for living.

\*See Matthew 22:35-40; \*\**Message to the Mother Church for 1892*, p. 17; †*Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, p. 475.

## DAILY BIBLE VERSE

Every day will I bless thee; and I will praise thy name for ever and ever.

Psalms 145:2

## Damask rose

By a New England callar hole

Some farmer's wife one day in life,  
At dawn, perhaps, or gloaming —  
Set down this root, the first pale shoot,  
To keep her heart from roaming.

The cabin yard was bare and hard,  
And yet she had her yearning —  
Damascus far and Persia's star  
And all Romance returning.

So here it grows — her Damask rose,  
Though all the farm is dying;  
Its petals hold its ring of gold —  
The dullest are sighting.

Louise Montell

## Sequestered

My father carried  
his pack across crevasses,  
a small pack, enough,  
to hold a few dreams.  
As he picked his way  
over years, his remaining  
dreams weighed heavily.  
He discarded them.  
With careful hands,  
I sequestered them.  
One day I brought them  
to my father. He recognized  
them, took them to mind.  
They enveloped him.  
He knew no more burden.

S. H. Erbil

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# OPINION

Melvin Maddocks

## The silly season

There are a lot of good things to be said for summer. Remember winter and you'll have most of the arguments well in mind. But beyond the obvious distinctions that make summer a climate of reward, winter a climate of punishment, one advantage to June-July-August often gets overlooked.

When summer arrives, history slows down. Just think. Until September Paris will not dare pronounce a New Look in fashion. New York will not be allowed to hail another Best First Novel of the Decade. Washington being Washington may insist on digging up a scandal — a small one. But hush, little children, hush. Teddy Kennedy won't have to deny again that he is running for president. Until September.

In a world nearly hysterical from change, summer has become human nature's (as well as Nature's) necessity. In the summer we all can live at the pace our fathers lived at in the winter.

That slow? Well, maybe not. But the summer self is a

different personality from the winter self — less dutiful perhaps but more aware, more likely to take time. In the summer, along with the tan, everybody gains a Mediterranean soul.

Summer, said Christina Rossetti, is the season when "one day in the country is worth one month in town." Polls indicate that people are happier living in sight of mountains and bodies of water, as they are more likely to do in the summer. Who needs a poll to confirm the self-evident?

Even in the city, on a front stoop or around an open hydrant, summer brings a sense of space. The law of perspective is: Outdoors the ego exists on a different scale than indoors.

So summer is the season when people take the long view of themselves. Only they put off doing much about it until after Labor Day.

Summer is the grace period for the Puritan conscience. No bills due for 90 days.

Who can really worry in the summer about his or her career? In the summer you keep forgetting two things: to be anxious; and to be ambitious.

Summer is a terrible time for the workaholic. He survives only through that simulation of winter — office air-conditioning.

Summer defrocks the overcivilized man. Sun and warm water invite him to bare himself as much as local customs and his own notions of decorum permit. But

the ultimate liberation is to walk barefoot. When skin actually touches the ground, messages get sent back and forth in a code addressed to the primeval memory.

And as people go native, the possessive impulse seems to ebb. One is never more conscious that ownership requires constant care.

Summer is the season when people fantasize escapes from what they are the rest of the year. It is easy to fantasize but, alas, hard to plan in the summer.

Summer is enough to turn a man into a philosopher — if a slightly sun-struck one. Certainly summer is the time when people most nearly live in the Now.

A summer's day gives an illusion of forever. Surely this sun, this greenness, these smells of full flowering are too palpably present ever to go away? Everybody knows better, even as everybody conspires in the mood of Endless Summer. And so one presses summer to the palate, like the season's fresh fruits.

In journalism summer is known as the "silly season." Readers (so the assumption goes) can be titillated only by trivia — the popcorn and salted peanuts of the news. Headline stories about a swimmer who loses his toupee in the surf and a week later finds it serving as a nest for a sea gull. That sort of thing.

Still, if the season is a little crazy, it is crazy in a nice, universal, cycle-of-life way. And when history returns from vacation in September with all its obsessions still in place, who can say that the silliness of summer doesn't have its won wisdom?

Joseph C. Harsch

## How to stop inflation

The perplexity of modern governments over the problem of inflation reminded me that there was once an inflation worse, considerably, than any inflation which has yet happened among the modern industrial democracies — and also that it was met and mastered by a government which recognized that it had to be stopped.

That was in Germany of the Weimar Republic. It struck me as perhaps worthwhile to get out the history books and see just exactly what did happen then, and how the German Government met and mastered its inflation problem.

The cause of the German inflation was unusual and bears no relation to present conditions. The Western allies who had defeated Imperial Germany in 1918 were determined to collect "reparations." They imposed upon Germany a scale of reparations payments which John Maynard Keynes, the economist, estimated was three times the capacity of the German people to pay. Any attempt to collect such a sum, he reasoned, would only reduce their capacity to produce and to earn. It would be self-defeating. But the allies insisted. When German payments lagged, the French and Belgians invaded the Ruhr and attempted to collect their reparations by force in the form of coal and

industrial products. The Germans went on strike.

Since the industries of the Ruhr were essential to the entire German economy it meant that the German economy was virtually strangled. Inflation took off.

The time span involved was brief.

The unrealistic allied reparations demands were announced in January of 1921 when the German mark was worth about .65 to the dollar. Inflation grew fairly slowly at first. In January of 1923 the mark stood at 133 to the dollar. By July it was 500 to the dollar. But the big jump came when the French and Belgians invaded the Ruhr in January of 1923. By August it took 4½ million marks to buy a dollar. By November it had gone to 4 trillion to the dollar.

That was when the German Government took matters in hand and when the Western allies realized that their reparations policies were self-defeating. They trimmed down the reparations to a bearable level.

The remarkable thing about the story is that the German inflation was then corrected — within three months.

Here is where we come to matters which can have some relevance to these times. There was in Germany a roaring inflation. It was halted in its tracks. Germany has had a stable

economy ever since — one of the most stable in the world. How?

It was done by first issuing a new currency at one new mark to one trillion of the old. That meant a rate of 4 marks to the dollar which is close to what it has been much of the time since. (Today the German mark is up to 43 cents — or, the dollar which used to buy 4 marks now buys only a little over 2 marks — which is one measure of the present American inflation, and why German prices seem so high to American tourists, but not to Germans.)

Next was the problem of keeping the new mark stable, which, of course, was the hard and the important part of the operation. That was done by issuing a very limited quantity of the new marks and by not letting any government department or private industry have more than its budget authorized or its earnings justified.

For government this meant that every department of the German Government was required to live within its income, which also meant dismissing surplus employees. For business and industry it meant no borrowing to support a payroll beyond earnings. For everyone, it meant a sharp rise in unemployment.

Within three months prices were falling.

Within six months unemployment was also falling as business and industry steadily improved. The price was acceptance of six months of high unemployment. The result was a sound and prosperous economy.

It sounds hopelessly old fashioned and "square." Today's economists insist that it is possible to regain economic stability without the price of the interim period of high unemployment. They may be correct. We watch with fascination to see whether the British can overcome their inflation without accepting a rise of unemployment. We would hope that there is a better way than the one the Germans used to stop inflation in 1923.

But it remains an interesting fact that the German inflation was stopped cold in November of 1923 and that by spring of 1924 the Germans were back at work with a stable and sound currency. They have been doing well economically ever since.

Their winter of 1923-24 was hard, with long breadlines. But it was not the pang of that winter which the Germans remember with horror to this day. It is rather the preceding months of inflation which wiped out the savings and the values of the great German middle class and thus produced the frustrations and the resentments which became the raw material of Adolf Hitler's politics.

## Czech-mating Brezhnev's game?

By Karel Tynsky

published in full in the Italian Communist press, as was earlier the testament of another leader of the defunct Prague spring of liberalization, the late Josef Smrkovsky. If the Italian Communist Party wants to obtain a share in government, it must obviously refuse to accept Soviet interference in another European country which has chosen a type of socialism different from that proposed for the Italian party in the Prague-Spring.

It has been pointed out that Dubcek nowhere directly criticizes the Soviet Union for its intervention in 1968 but puts all blame on the tiny Stalinist group in the country which "misinformed" the Kremlin so that it "mistakenly" sent its troops to put things right.

This aspect has led to wide speculation in the underground press. There are rumors of a secret trip by Dubcek to Moscow and of the publication of his famous letter at least with tacit Soviet approval. Giselav Husak, Dubcek's successor as party leader, according to these speculations, can no longer be sure of Soviet backing. His recent nomination to the post of president is described as the first step to demotion.

On the other hand, it is thought unlikely that Moscow would switch to Husak's opponents on the ultra-Stalinist right. In the context of European détente and when the democratic

left in the West is being wooed, Moscow is unlikely to tolerate a group in Czechoslovakia which would employ the harshest repressive methods against dissidents: Husak, after all, though he did not deliver pacification, had been reluctant to employ extreme methods.

In this context, rumors that Dubcek might be on his way back to power sound less wild; the question is whether he would want to lead the same to a new liberalization which would, obviously, be tightly controlled by Moscow but would go a long way in appeasing the dissenting populace.

Party leaders, at "private briefings" (which sooner or later turn up in the underground press), complain about the Soviet unwillingness to permit an orientation of the Czech economy more in line with the country's structure and needs, and less dependent on trade with the Eastern bloc. They complain — and these complaints increasingly appear even in the official press — about the unbelievable extent of corruption. It is not uncommon in the system of free medical care that patients have to pay bribes amounting in thousands of crowns. And in the tightly controlled university system, where the proper "political profile" of the parents, up to 20,000 crowns has been paid to members of an admissions board for medical school. Even a

party card can be bought, one story in an underground paper states.

Meanwhile, there has been the case of Bohumil Hrabal, author of "Closely Watched Trains," a subtle satirist in the Thawer vein who had never been involved in politics. He was blacklisted by the Husak regime because his writing did not fit into the newly imposed canon of socialist realism. His "self-criticism" now published in the official press, written in such crude and bureaucratic language, that, according to the prevailing view, it was written by some police investigator. Hrabal signed it and now can publish again.

The majority of writers, historians, sociologists, philosophers, filmmakers, and artists continue to defy the regime. However, their material conditions are rapidly deteriorating. Many are unable to cope with the mental job dwindling. The latest issue of an underground bulletin contains an appeal to "colleagues in the West" to do everything possible to help.

The question is whether anything can or will be done to make Czechoslovakia less of an obstacle to Mr. Brezhnev's closely watched timetable for getting Communists together before he retires.

Mr. Tynsky is a Czech writer now living in the United States.

# COMMENTARY

## Tinkering with apartheid

By Henry S. Hayward

Pretoria, South Africa  
Is apartheid really changing in Prime Minister John Vorster's land?  
The question is asked repeatedly here and abroad.

At least the beginnings of a shift from white supremacy rule to equal rights for blacks yet in sight in this stronghold of southern Africa?

It would be highly significant to report that this is the case, and some whites sincerely believe it to be so. But the official evidence still seems to point rigidly the other way.

True, some surface improvements in racial policy have been introduced recently, and more are still appearing. It would be a welcome moment for critics of apartheid, including the United States Government among others, to say these were forerunners of a truly basic shift.

But that fundamental pillar of apartheid — permanent separation of the black and white races and white minority control of the national government — remains totally unchanged at this stage, as far as a neutral observer can see.

To contend otherwise, according to informants here, is mere wishful thinking.

Yet one does encounter intelligent people who read a great deal into the current essemences. "South Africa is really changing at last," enthused a Rhodesian resident this correspondent talked to recently in Salisbury. "Look at the way they are abolishing restrictions on blacks in hotels."

But Mr. Vorster's ruling National Party

specifically denies this. It says there is no truth in the claim that recent legislation would open the country's hotels and restaurants to all races equally. It said so in a full-page advertisement in Die Transvaler, the National Party newspaper. It did this pointedly just before some important by-elections which it then won.

The Prime Minister, moreover, said last March that separate facilities for whites, blacks, and Indians remained the ideal. If that is not apartheid, the distinction is hard to see.

More recently, Interior and Information Minister Connie Mulder emphasized that although the government is moving away from some forms of racial discrimination, it would not accept integration of the races as its policy.

"Moving away from discrimination does not mean that we are panicking and running away because of what happened in Mozambique," Dr. Mulder was reported as saying.

Again, this sounds like apartheid, even if a certain amount of discrimination is removed out of necessity.

Such high-level statements are regarded at least partly as being necessary assurances to the conservative, pro-apartheid majority of the National Party that its long-term racial policy is not being eroded by current moves.

Well aware of this party sentiment, Mr. Vorster has moved with extreme caution and skill in making reforms and changes. So far they are cosmetic rather than drastic. He applies the same formula to his offers of détente with black Africa, another policy his

own rightwingers look upon with great distrust.

As was shown in the parliamentary session recently finished in Cape Town, Mr. Vorster and some of his ministers are ready to grapple with basic changes and feel this is the temper of the times. But the Prime Minister's dilemma is that his mandate at the polls comes from people who feel quite the contrary about change.

Thus one gets the impression that the government is chipping away at its own monolithic apartheid structure, built up over the past 27 years of National Party rule, without really wanting to change its face too much — and certainly not intending to bring the monolith crashing down.

The chips nonetheless are impressive in the aggregate. They include urban property rights for blacks, the ending of restrictions on Indian travel and residence, permitting blacks to eat in dining cars of luxury trains, mixed Rugby and cricket teams, and easing of job restrictions for blacks and coloreds.

On this latter point, however, Minister of Labor Marais Viljoen stressed that "whites' jobs" now being opened to blacks would revert to whites if South Africa slid into a recession. At present, there are more jobs here than white workers to fill them. But if this changes, the warning is that the black man will be forced to go and this particular form of discrimination will return.

Mr. Hayward is the Monitor's correspondent in Africa.

Charles W. Yost

## How long will Egypt wait?

Egypt wants peace. There can be no doubt about that.

With a population of 38 million, still growing at an astronomical rate, cities whose essential facilities are strained to the breaking point, food supply just barely sufficient and never secure, industrial development constricted by lack of capital and know-how, Egypt clearly wants neither further war nor another costly period of no war-no peace.

It would be a great mistake, however, to assume that these burdens and necessities will oblige Egypt to buy peace at any price, or even to renounce war indefinitely.

The most tragic lesson of the 20th century is that in our turbulent age national pride and passion almost always override simple logic and practical self-interest. Egypt will not accept the permanent loss of any territories, nor will it wait too long for their recovery. It will not make a peace separate from Syria, Jordan, and the Palestinians, nor will it accept an interim agreement which prevents it, at the time it considers appropriate, from assisting its friends to recover their territories or to obtain self-determination.

These are the dual imperatives by which Egypt and President Sadat are constrained, within which he seeks an accommodation which is not a betrayal and which gives his policy an appearance of ambiguity which is both unavoidable and misleading.

Actually the policy is remarkably straightforward. President Sadat, first of all among Arab leaders but others have now followed, has publicly and explicitly recognized the existence of Israel and its sovereignty within its 1967 boundaries. He has shown not only a willingness but an eagerness to negotiate an overall settlement under United Nations Reso-

lution 242 or, as long as it is neither a substitute for such a settlement nor an excuse for prolonged postponement, another interim agreement for further disengagement in the Sinai.

Such an interim agreement would obviously reduce tensions and improve the atmosphere in the Middle East. It would be valuable either in and of itself or as a propitious prelude to a return to Geneva for the practical negotiations required for an overall settlement. It would buy some time but it would not buy a great deal of time.

In the Egyptian view, such a further disengagement in the Sinai should be followed by a similar, though no doubt less extensive, withdrawal from the Golan Heights, and by unspecified moves toward recognition of Palestinian rights. In other words, it would never be considered as an end in itself nor even as an isolated step.

As to Geneva, the Egyptians show a willingness, but no real enthusiasm, for resuming there the search for a permanent comprehensive settlement. This lack of enthusiasm derives from their fear that the complexities of that task would be so great that another stalemate would arise, a stalemate from which it would be even more difficult to disengage than the present one.

So President Sadat, with remarkable adroitness and imperturbability, steers his ship of state between the Scylla of war and economic disaster and the Charybdis of imprisoned Arab nationalism. Either could be fatal to his government.

It should be noted that there is a significant difference of opinion among Egyptians about the impact of the time element. The official view is, as stated above, that another long stalemate with Israel in occupation of Arab

lands cannot be tolerated and that, if it should seem to be taking shape, it would have to be broken again by whatever means were available.

Others take a different view. They argue that time is working for Israel in the short run since, if nothing decisive happens in 1976, the United States will be immobilized by its electoral campaign and Israel will be able to hold the occupied territories for another two years.

They insist, however, that in the longer run time works more and more for the Arabs, that after two or three years they will be both economically and militarily vastly stronger, that by then they will not need to make the painful compromises now required.

Almost all Egyptians, it is disturbing to see, are convinced that the United States has the main responsibility for obliging Israel to make a settlement, as they would no doubt place upon it the main blame if no settlement is obtained. Their claim is, of course, that it is only U.S. military and economic aid which enables Israel to refuse a settlement and that, if this aid were withheld, Israel would be obliged to yield.

This is very probably a misreading of Israeli psychology. In any case it reflects a weakness which the Arabs and Israelis share — a preference for demanding that the United States extract essential concessions from the other side, rather than themselves freely offering concessions which would be much more likely to evoke a favorable response.

The author of this article writes from a background of 40 years as a United States diplomat.

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## British India-watchers

By Francis Renny

Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

London  
The drama of Mrs. Gandhi's court case, her declaration of emergency and arrest of nearly 700 opponents has been followed closely and with some anxiety in London. Despite what some of Mrs. Gandhi's advisers have said, the British are relieved rather than disappointed not to be running the Indian Empire still.

But British commercial and cultural links remain, and there are still thousands of British in middle-age who served and loved India. They now help to provide a well-informed and understanding press on the subject.

From the start it was pointed out that Mrs. Gandhi's conviction on charges of electoral malpractice was rather a case of a busy woman cutting corners than of real corruption. Mrs. Gandhi scarcely needs to stoop to corruption, and compared with many of her associates and adversaries is as pure as the white saris she wears. But even her defenders in London found it hard to accept the dramatic coup of the emergency and the mass overnight arrests as justified. Newspaper censorship produces an understandable snarl of anger from the British press, not only because of the whole principle involved, but also because of a fraternal feeling for the English language papers of India. These have long been under pressure from the Indian government, and there is much respect in London for the way Indian newsmen have stood up to that pressure.

British India-watchers can easily understand the sequence of events that drove Mrs. Gandhi to her extreme actions: the assassination of party colleagues, the indignity of the corruption trial, the defeat of her Congress party in the state of Gujarat, and the call by a motley band of unsuccessful opposition groups for a week of demonstrations against her. The opposition was decisively defeated in the last general elections in India, but ever since has been looking for unparliamentary ways of dislodging her.

These have included such tactics as pushing cows into the Parliament House and marching on Delhi with an army of 60,000 sadhus (or holy men) — a campaign which led to riots, burning and looting. The fact is that, with one or two exceptions, it is very hard to take the opposition seriously.

To quote the London Times "However justified criticism of Congress rule and Mrs. Gandhi's leadership may be there is no aspect of promise of anything better on the India political scene."

One of the few exceptions among opposition leaders is Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, a man of unimpeachable integrity who correctly forecast Mrs. Gandhi's assumption of dictatorship only a few hours before he was arrested. It was his year-long campaign against Congress party corruption that did the most to stir up the agitation which the Prime Minister found so intolerable. For quite regardless of the ability of the opposition parties, London observers feel obliged to agree that the Congress's 28-year monopoly of power has rotted it to the core. And they find it hard to see anything in Mrs. Gandhi's dictatorial grab which will cure that.

Admittedly she has the world's most chaotic, explosive and poverty-stricken people to govern — but it is felt she will not make them united, calm or rich by tolerating corruption.

But perhaps the saddest thing about Mrs. Gandhi's coup is the final contempt it has shown for India's own version of Westminster parliamentary democracy. As the liberal, pro-Indian Guardian commented: "What she has thrown away, maiming the ramparts against a supposed onslaught, is basic belief that India's rambunctious but curiously resilient democracy can cope."

British India-watchers agree that there is a precedent for censorship and the mass arrest of politicians — a precedent set by the British themselves in the bad old days of imperialism.